THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. XLVIII JULY, 1958 NO. 3

اللهُ الحيُّ القيومُ

"THE LIVING GOD"

By these epithets of the "living" and the "self-subsistent", (Surah ii.256) God is declared to be the One and Only God who could really receive the worship of mankind. Unlike objects of wood or stone fashioned by the hand of man, God possesses life. Idle would it be to question the source of this God-possessed life. He has life, not as it inheres in man, but as it subsists in Him from all eternity. He is the eternal, the self-subsistent, standing on His own account, depending on no one, contingent on no circumstances experienced by men. Indeed there is no explanation of His being: He is.

We are reminded of the voice addressed to Moses at the burning bush saying, "I am that I am" (Exod. iii.14). Beyond this affirmation of the Being of God the mind of man with all its wisdom and learning has not been able to penetrate. Indeed the beginning of wisdom is the acknowledgement of the truth of this axiom.

Furthermore the "living, the self-subsistent" is the life-giver. He has only to say "Be," and life springs forth (Surah xli.70). Or, according to the words of Genesis ii.7, God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." In this age of advanced science the sincere thinker may be reluctant to accept the metaphor by which the act of creation is thus described. But he cannot fail to understand that the knowledge the Scripture writer desired to impart was that God was author of the command "Be," and verily man became.

But man's inquisitive mind forbids him, perchance, to accept without questioning a record of such simplicity to

account for the presence of life in the form of man or animal on this planet, or for the possibility of life in any form on any of the planets or of the multitude of other celestial bodies. This is because of his failure to distinguish between method and fact, the description of an act and the act itself, explanation and reality. The truth behind these statements is no less than that God has life and in His wisdom and power imparts life. This is an affirmation of the reality of God in face of any philosophy that would deny to Him the ultimate authorship of life.

Such a courageous affirmation is appropriate whenever scepticism or disbelief manifest themselves. For while there may be a measure of healthful scepticism in every thoughtful and reasoning mind, the step from careless disbelief to wilful denial of the life-giving God may be effected without justification and before having considered its grave consequences. Certainly according to western tradition there is granted to every man freedom of thought and the right to ask questions, to speculate, to investigate in the search for truth. And as western science makes contact with, and penetrates into, the culture of newly-awakening peoples, there is a danger that the so-called scientific attitude be equated with denial of the great "I am," or that disbelief be assumed a prerequisite to effective search for truth. Such an assumption is as deplorable as it is unnecessary.

All praise is due to those who have laboured to increase science within the modern period, and to those who have had the ingenuity to utilize the fruits of science in the field of technology for the benefit of mankind. It is indeed wonderful that man, by his energy and wisdom, has at last fashioned satellites and set them whirling about our globe. This achievement does not, however, negate God or rule Him out from the universe. Man may make the satellites and launch them, but God owns the power that directs their course. The marvels of modern medicine and surgery are a credit to human intellect, inventiveness and skill. But God's sovereignty is not

thereby displaced. Such advances in human wisdom only confirm the goodness, power and wisdom of God "the Living, the Self-subsistent," the Giver of live. Science reveals much about humanity and the physical world around us, but there is a reality beyond the limits of our finite understanding. It is in this reality that the man of faith asserts his belief.

The conflict of a generation or two ago between science and religion seems to have subsided, at least in the West. Some of the great men of science have been men of religious devotion, acknowledging God as the author of all life. Yet it is not out of place to make a distinction between religion as such and Christianity, or between religion in itself and Islam. For while the partisans of science and the devotees of religion may have reached a point of reconciliation, in spite of a possible lack of mutual understanding, the quarrel goes on, and may be expected to continue, between science and traditional interpretations of both Christianity and Islam. The modern curricula of our institutions of higher learning, in the East as well as the West, are opening the eyes of students to the marvels of the physical world with its almost unlimited potentialities. Technology modifies the aspect of life as bulldozers change the face of the mountainside in the construction of of multi-lane highways. At the same time youth searches after truth and asks where God is and what is the place of the faith of their fathers in all this transformation. Since this is so, men of conviction will continue to turn for consolation, wisdom and intellectual orientation to Him Who is "the Living, the Self-subsistent."

Christendom awakens, through the Risen Christ to awareness of the fact of life in a particular way. To the Christian, life is more than length of days, something of profounder import than breath in the lungs and blood coursing through veins and arteries. He finds a particular meaning in the words of the Master: "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly" (S. John x.10). Here is life, not in extension but in intensity, not in quantity but in quality, not merely physical

but also metaphysical, not purely corporeal, but spiritual as well.

It is the qualitative life that "the Living, the Self-subsistent" imparts to His creatures, life with a new dimension. It is a life that cannot be described, estimated or evaluated in conventional mathematical terms. The life that Jesus had in mind was one whose source could be traced to love, even to the love of God Himself. Such a life was all-powerful to cast out hatred and bring in love among strife-torn mankind. It was capable of taking away suspicion and anxiety from the minds of men and substituting for these attitudes confidence and mutual trust. With such a life, hope would displace fear, peace would reign where struggle and turmoil held suffering humanity in its grasp, harmony would supplant discord. Above all, by this God-given life people heretofore estranged from God would become reconciled to Him. And, by the same token, peoples heretofore estranged from their fellowmen or in conflict with each another become reconciled. By the love-inspired life of Christ, peace, harmony, justice, goodness, kindness, well-being become realities among all men. And over and above all this there is the added assurance: "Because I live, ye shall live also" (S. John xiv.19).

E. H. D.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN AL GHAZĀLĪ AND THE PHILOSOPHERS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

PART I

Few writings in the history of philosophy reflect such an impression of exciting intellectual combat as the celebrated debate of the two *Tahāfuts* on whether the world is eternal in the past or originated. [1] It is also one of the central texts of Islamic philosophy. But the argument follows a somewhat devious course. It seems worth while to present within a short compass its main lines with some general comments.

The debate in its final form is contained in Ibn Rushd's *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut,* in the first and longest of the twenty discussions of the book. [2] But in reality the discussion includes three distinct layers of thought, contributed by the best philosophic minds of Islam over a period of two centuries and a half.

(a) The two earlier Islamic philosophers, Al-Fārābī (d. A.D. 950) and Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), had upheld the Aristotelian position that the world as a whole was eternal in the past. Their conception was that matter has always existed, though continually taking different forms. They did not deny that God was an eternal Creator (*khāliq*). But by this they meant that He constantly combines matter with new forms, not that He made the world out of nothing at a definite time in the past. In the same way God "creates" time, but it has no beginning. The arguments of the two philosophers incorporated many elements drawn from Aristotle and the later Greeks, and are themselves incorporated in Al-Ghazālī's statement of them in *Tahāfut al-falāsifah.* Although Al-Ghazālī was concerned to refute Al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, he took care first to understand their positions and present them in a plausible manner.

(b) The next layer is Al-Ghazālī's answers to the Islamic philosophers, contained in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* [3], completed in 1095. Al-Ghazālī's view is that both the world and time were created by God out of absolutely nothing, at a moment in the past which is at a finite interval from the present. Thus for him *khalaqa* means the same as *aḥdatha*:

---

[1] This first article is a modified version of a lecture given at the School of Oriental Studies, American University at Cairo. The second article deals with the third and fourth 'proofs'. Both were written while the author was the holder of a Ford Foundation Fellowship. The Foundation is not responsible for the contents of the articles.

[2] Ed. M. Bouyges (Beirut, 1930), pp. 4-117. The abbreviation *TT* refers to this edition. Eng. tr. S. van den Bergh (London, 1954), I, pp. 1-69, from which I shall quote. The translator furnishes page numbers of *TT* in the margin.

[3] Ed. M. Bouyges (Beirut, 1927), pp. 21-78. Referred to as *TF.*

i.e. the Creation of the world was an act of origination, of matter as well as of forms and time. This is in accordance with the apparent meaning of the Qur'ān, at least as it was understood by the *Mutakallimūn*. But Al-Ghazālī does not attempt to prove his own view. His object is only negative, to show that the philosophers have not proved theirs. Speaking sometimes on behalf of the *Mutakallimūn* and sometimes for himself, he brings out inconsistencies or shows the lack of force in the philosophers' arguments.

(c) Ibn Rushd's *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* was written at some time after 1180. In it he repeats the first two layers almost in their entirety, and gives his own criticisms paragraph by paragraph. He represents a third viewpoint, for his primary object is to show that Aristotle, if not the Islamic philosophers, had proved the eternity of the world (and of time). Thus he has several ways of answering Al-Ghazālī. Sometimes he vindicates the arguments of Al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, supporting them with fresh statements of his own. Again he argues that Al-Ghazālī has misunderstood them, or criticizes these philosophers themselves, saying that they have misunderstood Aristotle (in which case his attacks are irrelevant because they do not touch the real proofs for the philosophic position).

The following summary of this complex debate covers the four proofs of the philosophers in the order of Al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd. Within each proof the precise order of the text is changed when ever a clearer view can be obtained by simplification or re-arrangement. Ibn Rushd is not distinguished from the earlier philosophers except where they hold different views. Questions of method are discussed at the end.

The FIRST PROOF of the philosophers for the eternity of the world depends on the Aristotelian concepts of cause and will. Every change that takes place must have a cause to determine its occurrence, and this cause must be the action of some external force, other than the object changed. A ball is moved by a racket, the racket by someone's arm pressing it, and so on. The rule applies not only to physical changes but also to acts of will and changes of mind, and not only of man but of God as well. Thus if God wills a change to occur, this can only be because some new factor has determined Him to will it.

Now suppose that the world as a whole had come into existence in time and not existed from all eternity. Such a change from non-existence to existence would be quite inexplicable on the above principles. It could not have occurred owing to physical causes, for *ex hypothesi* none yet existed. And the world could not have arisen from an act of will by God, for this too would have had to be determined by some external factor leading Him to change His mind, and no such factors outside His mind yet existed. But even if, for the sake of argument, we suppose that there was such a determinant of the world

[4] *TF*, pp. 23-50; *TT*, pp. 4-63.

at a finite point in time, we still have to ask, what determined this determinant to arise now and not earlier? If we suppose a prior determinant the same question can be asked about it, and we are led to suppose an infinite series of external causes prior to the world and other than God, which contradicts all established notions about the world and God. Thus there are only two alternatives possible: either nothing ever arose from the Eternal Being (God)—and this is not the case as we know that the world did arise—or the world must have been in existence from all eternity. This last gives rise to no difficulty, because there is no change to be explained. The world is an eternal emanation from the divine essence, and its existence needs no explanation but the nature of that essence.

The difficulty of a non-eternal world can be stated in another way, if we view it from the side of the cause, God. Suppose God existed without the world at one time; then nothing could ever have acted upon His will to determine it to create the world, for, *ex hypothesi,* there are no external factors in existence, and He would have remained changeless and self-sufficient forever without a world. To express it informally, if He had not created it from the very beginning He would have lost His only chance of creating it ever. But we know for a fact that He created it, therefore His creation must be eternal.

In Al-Ghazālī's answer, and the retorts of the philosophers, the discussion revolves around the nature of the will. This is inevitable because the kind of cause of the world that is accepted by both parties is the eternal Will of God. Al-Ghazālī raises two objections, aiming to show that a beginning of the world in time *is* possible.

(1) God may have decreed or willed *from* eternity that the world should arise at a certain time.[5] This is the Ashᶜarī view. According to the Qurᵓān God has but to say to a thing: "Be, and it is."[6] So He said to the world, "'Be'—but not yet." Then the world came into existence at the time appointed. The philosophers answer: This Ashᶜarī view is impossible, because an act of will is a complete cause of an event, and when once the will acts the event must follow immediately unless there is an obstacle. In the case of God willing the world there is no obstacle, so any delay would be inexplicable.

To this the Ashᶜarites can reply: Perhaps God made the origination of the world depend on a certain condition, namely the lapse of a certain time, as a man can divorce his wife in Sharīᶜah law as from a certain day in the future. Here Ibn Rushd objects that there is no sound analogy between conventional and natural causation: i.e. we can in advance make a conventional fact legally effective from a certain future time, but an agent cannot cause a natural event at a future time.

At this point Al-Ghazālī raises an objection of method on behalf of

---

[5] The discussion of the first objection covers *TF*, pp. 26-46 and *TT*, pp. 7-56.
[6] xvi, 39 in the Cairo edition.

the Ashᶜarites: the philosophers assert it is impossible to connect an eternal Will with temporal production; but how do they know this is impossible, especially for the Will of God? There is nothing self-contradictory in supposing such a cause with a delayed effect (even without supposing any obstacle). If they claim to know it by intuition, why do their opponents not share this intuition? [6a]

The philosophers' next line of attack was against the Ashᶜarites "time bomb" theory of creation. Al-Ghazālī expresses it for the philosophers thus. One time would be as good as another for the creation of the world, so it is impossible to find a differentiating principle (*mukhaṣṣiṣ*) for God's choice of a finite time for the creation. A differentiating principle is necessary because it is impossible to imagine a choice between two completely similar things, without any differentiating reason for the preference. The same is true of the Divine Will as of human will.

The answer of Al-Ghazālī to this is, that will is essentially that which differentiates one object of choice from another. We need not ask a reason for its choice. Free will is just that which can choose between two similar alternatives. The argument is conducted on two levels: human and Divine will. On human will, Al-Ghazālī gives the classic kind of example: "Suppose two similar dates in front of a man who has a strong desire for them, but who is unable to take them both. Surely he will take one of them through a quality in him the nature of which is to differentiate between two similar things." It is absurd to say that "the man will remain forever hungry and perplexed, looking at the dates without taking one of them, and without a power to choose or to will, distinct from his desire." [7] Ibn Rushd's reply to this is that the real choice in such a case is not merely between one date and the other, but between taking either one and leaving both; and there is a clear reason for taking, namely hunger.

At this crucial moment in the argument some comments will be in order. Van den Bergh says that Ibn Rushd has missed the point completely. Certainly the will is going to choose one or the other of the dates rather than go hungry, "but the question is what determines its taking the one rather than the other." [8] But Ibn Rushd has at any rate indicated a very relevant factor in the situation, namely the preponderance of a desire to eat. From this it can be inferred that the man will take the largest possible date as soon as possible, and if they are of equal size he will take the one that presents itself at the moment when that fact is discovered.

The argument on Divine Will follows a parallel course. Al-Ghazālī gives some examples of features of the cosmos which might have been different without being either better or worse: e.g. the spheres of the

[6a] This question of method will be discussed more fully in the second article.
[7] *TF*, p. 41; *TT*, p. 37.
[8] 23.1 (i.e. note 1 to p. 23 of his translation).

Ptolemaic heaven might all have moved in opposite directions, from East to West instead from West to East, and vice versa. This would make no difference so long as all movements are reversed, leaving all relations between spheres as before. Therefore, there is no reason for God's choice of one direction rather than the other.

To these examples, Ibn Rushd replies that if we study science closely enough we can always find that the existing condition of the world is superior to the alternative, in all cases. God has acted wisely for the best. However, Ibn Rushd does not justify these assertions clearly in specific cases, and this part of his reply seems to be weak.

But in another place [9] Ibn Rushd follows the same train of thought as on human will. He says that what God chose between was in the first place the existence or non-existence of the world. Here there is no choice between similars, and he chose the better, namely existence of the world. This is as far as he goes, but we could follow it up in exactly the same way as with human will. Why did God choose to move the highest sphere from East to West? Because it was the direction that occurred first after He saw that the direction was indifferent, and He wanted to get on with His good world.

We may conclude, then, that if Divine Will is like human will Ibn Rushd has gained a slight advantage in this argument. This would mean that God must have created the world from eternity, because He saw from eternity, immediately, that the existence of a world such as ours was better than its non-existence.

But then all this argument falls to the ground if we believe that there is no analogy between a Divine Will and a human will. Many possibilities then arise, e.g.: God can cause a delayed effect, without any reason or condition. Or, God can act for the worse if He wishes. Or, God can choose arbitrarily between equals. Or, He needs a determining reason, but such a reason springs up in His mind after many reflections. (This last suggestion is probably un-Aristotelian, for it supposes an internal cause of movement).

The question of the eternity of the world cannot be solved from considerations of the Divine Will, for we do not know enough about the nature of that Will, though we may guess a great deal.

(2) Al-Ghazālī has a second objection [10] to the philosophers' proof of the eternity of the world on grounds of causality. This objection consists of an *argumentum ad hominem,* as follows: The philosophers have to admit that an eternal Being can cause temporal beings, in the case of new events happening in the world. For their argument for the first mover is based on the impossibility of an infinite chain of causes of these events. For example, what causes the earth to revolve round the sun?—the force of attraction. But the operation of this force on

---

[9] *TT,* pp. 38-39.
[10] *TF,* pp. 46-50; *TT,* pp. 56-63.

the earth is only necessary if the earth is a body with weight, and so on. It is not necessary in itself. So what causes bodies with weight to be attracted to each other? Perhaps we can find some more general laws of the universe. But these in turn will not give us the element of unconditional necessity, which was supposed by Ibn Sīnā and others to be needed for a complete explanation. The whole chain of causes is, therefore, conditional, unless we assume the existence of an ultimate First Cause which is "necessary in itself." Leaving aside the fallacy of this argument, we are only concerned with its conclusion as held by the philosophers: namely, that there must be a necessary eternal Being as the ultimate cause of temporal events. This cause is not merely at the beginning of time, it must be acting continually to create or cause every event in time; for the chain of causes mentioned in the above argument is not the temporal series, but the logical series from more particular to more general, all in operation simultaneously. Al-Ghazālī then argues: if the philosophers admit such a cause for each event *in time,* why cannot they admit it for the world as a whole *in time*; i.e., why cannot God cause the whole world to arise at any moment He wills?

Ibn Rushd protests that Al-Ghazālī has misinterpreted the way in which the eternal Being causes any temporal event. Each event has its accidental cause in an infinite series of preceding temporal beings; (such a series is apparently possible). Only the whole eternal series is caused essentially by an eternal Being acting upon the whole. Thus the eternal Being is not a cause of temporal beings *qua* temporal, and so the philosophers have not admitted that God can act directly in time.

Further on, however, Al-Ghazālī makes a more careful statement of the philosophers' theory of creation, which does try to avoid imputing to them a direct intervention of God in temporal events. But then he proceeds to show that their theory is unsatisfactory and fails to explain change. The philosophers link the eternal Being with the temporal through an intermediary being, the outermost heaven, which is in endless circular movement: this movement is eternal essentially, in its universal aspect, being circular and endless, but it is generable and corruptible in respect of its particular movements which are transient, always changing.

This theory was produced by the Greek philosophers to get them out of a serious difficulty: how could a changeless Being, as God was supposed to be, be a cause of movement? Movement can only be caused by another movement by its mover; but a changeless God could not stir such a movement in himself. The intermediary being's movement is supposed to follow more easily from an eternal changeless Cause, because it is itself eternal and changeless in a certain respect. But at least it moves, so that it can in turn start up all the particular movements of the world.

All this, however, is a subterfuge. The difficulty as Al-Ghazālī points out remains. For there is obscurity in the link on at least one side of the intermediary. He puts a dilemma: Is the circular movement the principle of temporal things because of its permanence (changelessness)? But how can a temporal event proceed from something because of its permanence? Or is it the principle of temporal things because of its arising anew (changing)? But what arises anew will need a cause for its arising anew, and we have an infinite regress.

Ibn Rushd says this is sophistical. The temporal proceeds from the circular movement *qua* temporal; but this process does not need a fresh cause, for it is "not a new fact, but an eternal act." [11] This is the last word in the discussion—Ibn Rushd always has that advantage. But it is still not clear how an eternally same movement (the cycle) could cause the changes in the world.

This whole argument is difficult. What of its result? It would seem that Al-Ghazālī has shown the unsatisfactoriness of the philosophic theory of change in time, arising from an eternal changeless Being, without any act of His in time. One may conclude with him that if the temporal events of the world are caused by a Creator, they must be caused by Him in a more individual fashion, and He must be able to act in time directly. And in this case there is no reason why He should not also have created the world as a whole by a direct act in time, not from eternity.

The SECOND PROOF of the philosophers (leaving aside Ibn Rushd) [12] revolves around *time*: is it eternal or finite? We may ask: how is the existence of time relevant to the existence of the world? It is so because of an Aristotelian assumption, that the existence of time depends on the existence of movement, and thus of a moving being. Aristotle says that time is the measure of movement. So if it can be proved that time is eternal, it would follow that a moving being is eternal, i.e. the world. Modern thought in general does not accept Aristotle's assumption. We think of time as some kind of framework in which movement occurs, and which is measured by movement—e.g. the day of 24 hours is measured by the movement of the sun between noon and noon. What kind of reality time has, in what sense it is objective or subjective, is a matter for discussion. But whatever it is, its existence does not depend on the actual existence of our measuring-stick of it, viz. movement in space. Perhaps the concept of time can only be grasped from *some* examples of actual movement, but when once grasped it can be understood as having an existence beyond any known actual movement. It can be thought of as a framework for possible movements. Since no limit can be set to such a framework, time cannot be conceived as finite but only as eternal. But this proves absolutely nothing about the

---

[11] *TT*, p. 63.
[12] *TF*, pp. 51-66, quoted in *TT*, pp. 64-97.

length of time for which the world has existed. The argument about time is thus irrelevant.

This point, however, is not taken up by Al-Ghazālī. He apparently accepts the Aristotelian assumption which ties time to actual movement. Therefore there are only two alternatives:

Either time and a moving world are both eternal. Or time and a moving world are both finite. He tries to prove that there is no reason why time should not be finite. This is not too difficult on the Aristotelian conception of time, for the existence of time is taken to be only co-extensive with the existence of a moving world, and there is no evidence that our moving world is not finite. Any extension of time beyond this world thus has no more basis than imagination, as Al-Ghazālī repeatedly says.

In fact the philosophers are in a difficulty, which starts in a contradiction in Aristotle's own thought. If time is nothing but an attribute of movement, then the only valid way to find out the extent of time is *from* the evidence of the extent of movement. But Aristotle in the *Physics* [13] shifts his ground and argues from a more natural concept of time: Whenever the world began, we can always conceive a time before it, and this time must be eternal. Then he goes on to deduce *from* this eternal time an eternal movement, because time cannot exist without movement! In other words he has reversed his own correct order of reasoning, and instead of inferring the extent of time from the extent of movement, he has inferred the extent of movement from the extent of time—an illegitimate process both on his own assumptions and on modern assumptions. The Islamic philosophers followed him in this proces. Al-Ghazālī, therefore, accepting Aristotelian time as derived from actual movement, has only to show that any extension of time beyond actual movement is purely imaginary.

Ibn Rushd, however, stands aside from this part of the argument, saying that the previous Islamic philosophers' proof is merely dialectical because it makes an assumption about God being in time. It is not obvious how his objection is relevant. For here it has been readily possible to state the main outlines of the discussion without referring to God.

The argument is carried by Al-Ghazālī to a new point, the analogy between time and space. He says: the philosophers admit that space is finite, because it is an attribute of body which is finite. So why do they not admit likewise that time is finite, because it is an attribute of finite movement? This is an *argumentum ad hominem:* But it is a good way of showing the weakness of the philosophers' position, namely that they are unable to prove the infinity of movement, though this ac-

---

[13] Book viii, Ch. I.

cording to their own supposition should come first before the infinity of time.

Ibn Rushd does not see the soundness of the analogy, disappointingly. He confuses space with physical points, and then accuses Al-Ghazālī of making physical points analogous to time, a false analogy. The argument on time has many complications and some obscurities, which do not need to be mentioned here. The sum of the matter is that the eternity of the world cannot be proved from the eternity of time, and this is so whether we conceive time in the ordinary way or as Aristotle does—though for different reasons. The third and fourth proofs of the eternity of the world in the philosophers and Al Ghazālī's response await a second article.

University of Michigan. GEORGE F. HOURANI

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS — from p. 268.

THE U.N. EXPERIENCE IN GAZA. Hamilton Fish Armstrong. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1957. pp. 600-619. Reviews the background of the situation and comments on various lost opportunities which might have solved the Arab-Israeli impasse.

UNITED STATES TO THE MIDDLE EAST, 1945-1957. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York, November, 1957. pp. 385-390. Gives tabulations and figures issued by the Office of Business Economics, U.S. Department of Commerce. Total aid amounts to $ 1,398,000,000.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

CHRISTIANISME, ISLAM ET ANIMISME CHEZ LES BAMOUN. P. Dublié. *Bulletin de l'Institut Française d'Afrique Noire,* Dakar. Juillet-Octobre, 1957, pp. 337-382. Traces conditions in the Camerouns from the early 19th century, when animism was everywhere, to the 1950s when Christianity is well established and Islam is making rapid progress in the towns.

REFLECTIONS OF AN ANGLICAN IN SYRIA. George Every. *Eastern Churches Quarterly,* London. Winter, 1956-1957. pp. 368-373. Describes the condition of the Holy Places in Palestine, finds that the Roman Catholics and Melkites are increasing more rapidly than the Protestants, and tells of the Orthodox Academy at Belmont.

TURKEY: A BRIDGE BETWEEN CONTINENTS. Paul H. Nilson. *World Dominion,* London. October, 1957. pp. 266-271. "It is from the West that the Turks have taken their ideas of reform; it is logical that the West should be able to satisfy their spiritual yearning" with true Christianity unhampered by materialism.

THE INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC COLLOQUIUM: 1958

Some general description of this memorable occasion in Lahore, West Pakistan, was presented in the previous issue under "Notes of the Quarter." [1] The aim of these pages is to summarise, without detailed comment, its main themes and to illustrate them from the words of the participants themselves. The program included nine main subjects, each one of which was discussed on a different day of the conference. Persons who wish to study the contents of the papers in detail should apply to the University of the Punjab for reports, which will undoubtedly be published. As a dozen papers were usually read on each subject, only a brief résumé of the material can be given in this article.

ISLAMIC CULTURE: WHAT DO WE MEAN BY IT?

Experts on art and poetry spoke of the indigenous elements, which produced a culture that was truly Muslim. One paper explained how Muslim culture developed freedom, not only for the Muslim himself to worship without interference, but also for non-Muslims to enjoy their own type of devotion. "Conservatism and modernism, philosophy and mysticism, native and foreign culture, all found a place in the fold of Islam."

Another paper pointed out how the Islamic traditions and Arabic language had made it possible for Muslims to assimilate and unify many cultural elements. This was followed by statements which stressed the ideas of unity and moderation in Islam, and the fact that it is a universal religion, which has the genius to bind together peoples as different as Turks and Iranians, Arabs and Indonesians, Chinese and Africans. Almost all of the speakers agreed that "Islamic culture has its own identity, that finds its roots in the Muslim faith, particularly in its basic tenet—*Tauḥīd* (unity of God)—which permeated the entire society and polity of the Muslim peoples and finds outer expression in their way of life, customs, expression of sentiments and emotions, individual behaviour and social conduct, architecture, poetry, art and sciences."

THE ISLAMIC CONCEPT OF STATE

"Islam—foreseeing the eventual evolution of humanity, had to formulate a basic code of comprehensive guidance for mankind in all their activities, whether they fall within the public or private sector. Islam, therefore, laid down some basic principles which every community is enjoined to adopt, and then gave them the liberty to develop its struc-

---

[1] See The Muslim World, Vol. xlviii, 2. April, 1958, pp. 170-173.

ture on the basis of these principles." "The Islamic concept of State is permeated with this threefold combination of fundamental precepts: ethical, economic, and political."

In the modern world there are two ideologies: Democracy and Communism. Islam is a third ideology. It is different from the other two because of Divine revelation. Thus despotism is not in keeping with Islam, because the government must be based upon the Sharīᶜah and no ruler has the right to act in opposition to the Divine law. Allegiance must be to the law of God. One paper was devoted to the problem of the unrighteous ruler and the necessity of finding ways to overcome tyranny.

The Muslim government must be acceptable to the people, it must ensure social equality, safeguard public welfare, protect private property, and guard the right of the individual. The Qurᵓān demands that the ruler should consult with his people. "It has been recognised in all Muslim countries that in many respects the mutable part of the Sharīᶜah requires considerable overhauling and the immutable parts (e.g. the Qurᵓān and the Sunnah) need a new interpretation." Consulation means that the members of the "Legislature alone can speak—and accept what seems rational and proper." Muḥammad Iqbāl observed that the Qurᵓān is not a legal code. "Its main purpose is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his relation with God and the Universe."

"The Islamic State should have all of the incidents of a modern Welfare State." The words of Surah ii. "And they (the women) have rights similar to those of men over them (in equity)", endorse the fact that men and women have equal rights. "La ikrāha fī-l-Dīn" is also enjoined by the Qurᵓān and means that there must be no compulsion in religion. Breaking of contracts and monopoly of wealth are forbidden, whereas independence of the judiciary and integrity of family life are safeguarded. Thus the Islamic idea of the state has many elements in common with democracy.

Some modern writers try to prove that Islam should agree with the idea of separating "Church and State" and with Jesus' command, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." But the majority of Muslims believe that Islam is at one and the same time a religion, a form of government and a way of life.

One interesting paper described the problems encountered when the First Constituent Assembly decided to make Pakistan an Islamic State. The ᶜulamāᵓ wished to organize their country according to the system of the original Caliphate. They felt that it was not right to have a regular parliament, although they did agree to have a consultative council as the Prophet and his successors made use of. Muḥammad ᶜAlī Jinnah, however, asserted: "Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission."

"The Pakistani intelligentsia were trying to elaborate a new '20th century' interpretation of Islam." Iqbāl said: "The transfer of the power of *Ijtihād* (independent judgment) from the individual representative to a Muslim Legislative Assembly is the only possible form *Ijmāᶜ* can take in modern times."

"The Constitution, which was finally adopted on March 23, 1956 was a firm and categorical rejection of the narrow concept of the Islamic State as demanded by some ᶜulamāᵓ The Islamic provisions of the Constitution are rather general; it is mainly a collection of secular laws for the administration of a democratic form of Government with broad Islamic principles as its guiding factor."

Perhaps this new constitution of Pakistan better than anything else describes what the Islamic concept of state has become in the 20th Century.

THE CHALLENGE OF MODERN IDEAS AND THE SOCIAL VALUES OF MUSLIM SOCIETY

There were a number of somewhat specialized papers on the progress in modern Turkey, the importance of the press, and the necessity for change in Islam. "Nothing characterises our age more than movement, and what the contemporary Muslim society needs first is a taste for movement." "The lack of historical sense leaves us oblivious of the flexibilities within the Qurᵓān." "The historical approach to the Qurᵓān has the benefit of affording conceptions of the Prophet's *Nubuwwah* (prophethood) and the *Waḥy* (revelation) he received, which will be more readily acceptable to the modernised mind."

It was inevitable that many of the papers should have been concerned with the influence of the West upon Islam and a comparison between Western, Communist and Islamic ideals of social life. One delegate said among other things that "the overwhelming factor through modern social thinking in Islam has been a constant debate with the West. With the advent of social revivalism, the debate passed from the defensive to the offensive mood. The obvious social evils and abuses of freedom in the western society were ceaselessly harped upon, with a warning to the Muslims against the new social change and often with an implicit or explicit hope that the West itself will soon recant from the path on which it has embarked."

A delegate who understands the West in a thoroughgoing way made a timely statement when he said: "The deeper cultural and spiritual fountains, the humanism and liberalism of Western social change have not been really grasped. The liberalizing modernist has so decisively, almost fanatically, identified the Western social and moral values with Islam, that he does not, even if he understood it himself, give any deeper account of the new social values as to why they should be adopted."

One important paper, read by a professor of Al-Azhar, dealt with

the subject of democracy. He began by explaining that there are many different types of democracy. "One type believes in materialism alone, another in idealism, a third gives more importance to the individual than to society, while a fourth thinks of the individual as part and parcel of society. Every one of these conceptions calls for a special social system. Which conception shall we then believe to be right and more beneficial to man?"

"There are two kinds of social unities, one politico-economic, and the other human and spiritual. While religion aims at fostering the second, the secular authority is concerned with the first unity." "Real social equality will never exist in a society unless it is based on feelings of sympathy, friendship and fraternity. Such feelings should be so strong as to mould the selfish desires of the powerful individuals and groups into public interest. Therefore, real democracy and freedom cannot exist unless society constitutes a political as well as a spiritual unity." "Religion aims at creating a human unity." "All men are brothers in one spiritual family irrespective of their different languages, countries, races, and colours. It is because of this that the social system in Islam relies on the education of the individual, and the development of his feeling, rather than on social and political pressure. The individual reveres this system because it is something divine that represents the Will of God. It is, in this respect, unlike any man-made system."

The papers on "Modern Ideas and Social Values" were theoretical rather than practical and did not attempt to suggest concrete ways of solving the social problems which confront Islam at the present time. Questions connected with family life, the status of women, improvement of rural conditions, social security, and similar issues were not discussed.

THE ROLE OF IJTIHĀD AND THE SCOPE OF LEGISLATION IN ISLAM

"The problem of *Ijtihād* and legislation that confronts present-day Muslims is not an isolated phenomenon in the history and typology of law; it is a manifestation of the wider problem of combining stability with adaptability."

One of the speakers said that *Ijtihād* technically signifies "maximum effort to ascertain the law and the intent of Islamic injunction in a given problem or issue." There is a "vast range of human affairs about which the Sharīᶜah is totally silent." "This silence is by itself indicative of the fact that the Supreme Law-giver has left it to human beings to decide such matters by their own discretion and judgment." "A number of methods have been recognised in the legal system of Islam whereby an *Ijtihād* acquires the force of law. Firstly, consensus of opinion (*Ijmāᶜ*) by the learned men of the community. Secondly, the *Ijtihād* of an individual or group of individuals may gain wide popularity," as in the case of the four authorised schools of Jurispru-

dence. "Thirdly, a Muslim government may adopt a particular piece of *Ijtihād* as its law." Fourthly, a state legislature may give authorisation to *Ijtihād*.

One important paper traced the history of Jurisprudence and the role of *Ijtihād* in early Islam. The Prophet's famous conversation with Maʿath ibn-Jabal was quoted to prove that Muḥammad himself believed in *Ijtihād*. It was explained that "the mission of Islam, according to the texts of the Qurʾān and the precepts of the Sunnah, is the universal and total reformation of mankind." Thus Islam is final, eternal, and totally comprehensive. By means of the Qurʾān, the Sunnah, *Ijtihād*, and *Qiyās* it is possible to determine the admissibility of every act.

After the four Sunni Schools of Jurisprudence had been made authoritative "they ruled that the door of *Ijtihād* should be closed." Experience showed that individual *Ijtihād* might create a state of chaos. On the other hand, if we wish to revive the vitality of the Sharīʿah by means of *Ijtihād*, which is the only means of providing daring solutions for myriad modern problems, then we should establish a new method, which is *Ijtihād* of the group. "To do this an academy for Islamic Jurisprudence should be established." It should include the most famous jurists of every Islamic country and "Muslim scientists, whose faith is not open to doubt, in the fields of economics, sociology, law, medicine, etc., to serve as experts for the jurists." An academy of this sort, with full time workers, with a good library and funds to publish their research, could be given the power to reinterpret the law in accordance with the demands of the modern world.

THE ATTITUDE OF ISLAM TOWARDS SCIENCE

Most of the papers quoted verses from the Qurʾān and the sayings of the Prophet, which encouraged the Muslims to seek knowledge. As these passages are very familiar, only a few examples need be given. "Pursuit of knowledge is an incumbent duty for every Muslim man and woman, and so seek ye it, even though it be in China." This command had special meaning, as a commission from China had just arrived in Pakistan, to teach the people how to irrigate rice fields.

"Knowledge is the life of Islam and the support of religion." "The best prayer is the pursuit of knowledge." "Man's attention to learning for an hour is better for him than worship for sixty years." "Whoever wishes to have the benefits of this immediate world, let him acquire knowledge; whoever wishes to have the benefits of the Hereafter, let him acquire knowledge; and whoever wishes to have both together, let him acquire knowledge." "Wisdom is the lost camel of the true believer; he should pick it up wherever he finds it."

One paper explained the use of learning in a more definite way. "Searching for truth and avoiding guessing must be applied to everything." "The senses and the mind are not the means of Man to understand truth and guessing in the field of divine questions and human

behaviour, but they are his means to acquire knowledge in other fields, such as human life and man's environment." Thus Islam does not encourage guessing about metaphysical questions, which can only be known by means of revelation. On the other hand, Islam does expect man to use his senses and reason, in order to understand the material universe.

Although a whole day was devoted to this subject, no reference was made to the fact that scientific study is causing many university students to question the inerrancy of the Qur'ān and to become agnostic. No practical suggestions were offered as to how Islam could be presented, so as to prevent the students of secular institutions from losing their faith. This subject like several others was discussed from a purely theoretical point of view.

ISLAM'S INFLUENCE ON WESTERN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Only two papers were presented in connection with this subject, but if there was a lack of quantity, there was an abundance of quality. Both papers explained from the historical point of view how Islam influenced Western Europe. One was more concerned with matters of a practical nature like sanitation, law, agriculture, military equipment, music, architecture, medicine and the mathematical sciences, while the second gave a masterly summary of the influence of Muslim thought on European philosophy. Although these papers were brief, they contain so much important material that they deserve to be read in full as soon as they are published,

ECONOMICS IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ISLAM: LANDED PROPERTY AND LAND TENURE

Thirteen papers dealt with this subject, among them several important contributions, of too specialized a nature to describe here. The material in numerous papers can be combined to summarize the Islamic Theory of Economics in the following way:

(i) Islam upholds private ownership, but in the last analysis all property belongs to God, so that man must have a feeling of trusteeship for his property and use it in an ethical way.

(ii) The Zakāt (Alms tax), prescribed taxes and system of inheritance prevent monopoly of wealth in Muslim countries.

(iii) Wealth must not be used to exert undue political influence.

(iv) Free enterprise is to be encouraged, but self-interest must be kept within bounds.

(v) Manual labour is to be respected.

(vi) Competition is an advantage, provided it is honest.

(vii) There must be a spiritual atmosphere created in the community, so as to assure fair play.

(viii) Honest business should be supplemented by civic service, so as to assure fair play, and to avoid too great differences between the rich and the poor.

(ix) Encouragement should be given for reclamation of land.

(x) Land may be appropriated by the State, provided it is for the public welfare and the owners are given proper remuneration.

The present day practices in the Anglo-Saxon lands and numerous European countries are so much like these Muslim principles that the sagacity of the Prophet is confirmed by modern developments.

One paper entitled "Land Tenure in Islam" gave an unusually clear summary of the conditions causing social unrest in many countries and requiring land tenure reforms in lands like Egypt, Turkey, and Syria. In this article it is only possible to give a superficial résumé. "In the countries where the cultivators form the backbone of the population, their poverty and backwardness hold the society in a vice, so that there is neither prosperity, nor freedom, nor progress. A well-entrenched vested interest has established such a control over all organs of government that it needs a struggle to dislodge it."

Various authorities have said that "The person who brings dead land to life is its owner," and "the person who pays the 'kharaj' (tax) is the owner of the land for which he pays it." "The basic idea implicit in this doctrine is that it is the labour of man which creates wealth." "If the cultivator deals directly with the State, he is better off because he is not subject to the selfish, petty tyrannies of the intermediaries." "If Islam recognises the principle of the ownership of land vesting either in the cultivator or in some instances in the State, how is it that today the cultivator is dependent for his welfare upon the mercy of unimaginative and exacting intermediaries in so many lands of Islam?"

Then followed an account of the unsatisfactory land tenure system in India and Pakistan, which developed to a great extent because of the ignorance of the Englishmen who first administered India. Originally there was plenty of land and labour was hard to find, because the peasants worked on their own farms instead of for hire. "With greater pressure upon land and the exhaustion of other sources of employment, the value of land increased and there grew up a class of landless labour." "With the growth of population and greater pressure upon land" this class multiplied. Then the "Industrial Revolution and the advance of technology, which took place in the Western countries, made methods of production in the East antiquated and incapable of competing with Europe." "Some peasant families were not able to support themselves and where there was an appreciable increase in the population, the burden became heavier and a good deal of land changed hands and those who had other means of income began to invest their money in purchasing agricultural land." "Thus started the process of land accumulating in a few hands and the reduction of the cultivator to the status of a tenant-at-will or just a labourer." "There grew up a class of landlords who employed labour on the basis of sharing the crops, who changed from mobile labour into just crop-sharing tenants." Princes and local chieftains gained commissions from the State and "assumed powers which had never legitimately belonged to them." "Islam does not envisage a system of tenants depending for their

livelihood upon the sweet will of exacting landlords, who deny them, in certain instances, even the elementary rights of citizenship."

"The peasant without a lasting interest in his holding can never put in his best effort and, therefore, instead of a rise in the agricultural productivity, there is a constant deterioration. The large landlords in many instances have such bloated incomes that they are not interested in better production." "The concentration of the meagre resources of a country in a few hands does create a market for a few expensive articles imported from industrially developed countries, but it gives little impetus to wide-based domestic industry."

"In the political field the maladjustments arising from these inequalities produce results which destroy the structure of justice and fairplay and create widespread corruption. The wealthy few can entice the services away from the sense of duty, and administration is corroded by bribery, favoritism, nepotism, and injustice. Because by pleasing the small number of wealthy persons, the officers can get away with any crime, they pay little attention to efficiency or work."

"The most corrupting influence which the landlords exercise upon politics is in manipulating elections. Their stronghold upon their tenants is so great that they cajole, threaten or force them to vote as *they* like and, because they are so powerful, they press the local authorities into service. Thus it becomes impossible for sincere and honest workers with any convictions to get elected. It is mostly the landlords who, through their influence and power, get elected." "The only effective remedy is the abolition of all intermediaries. There are, however, some difficulties in the way. The greatest obstacle is the power of the landlords themselves." Bloodshed is too drastic a method to accomplish reform. Moreover, "if private property is taken away in a drastic manner, it shakes confidence and creates other difficulties." "Therefore, the cultivator should be asked to acquire the rights of the landlords. The State should act in this process as the honest broker. It should, first of all, fix a reasonable price for the land and then distribute it over a number of years, say twenty." "The State should guarantee to the landlord the payment of the just price of his property. A scheme of insurance should cover the periods of bad crops when the cultivator defaults because of circumstances beyond his control". "The consolidation of smaller holdings can be achieved through co-operative societies and legislation." "In accordance with any civilised system of law, property is sacrosanct only in the sense that it cannot be acquired without the payment of adequate compensation. The laws of Islam are no exception." "Thus, there is no legal bar to the acquisition of intermediary rights; as a matter of fact, in view of the needs of the community, it is incumbent upon an Islamic State to do so."

ISLAM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS, AND RELATIONS WITH, OTHER FAITHS

Some of the papers referred to the relations between Muslims and

the People of the Book during the Prophet's lifetime and the toleration shown to Jewish refugees during the Middle Ages. Delegates from China and Thailand spoke of the religious toleration in their countries. One speaker described how conflicts had been aroused in the past because of the doctrines of world domination, which were held by the Byzantine Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, the Islamic Caliphate and the first Communists. He added, more hopefully: "In the course of the ages a new political concept has been evolved, which makes the living together of different communities, religions, and political systems possible, namely the federal system. It is in this way that the importance of our latest attempt at universalism—the UNO—must be understood."

An important member of the faculty of Al-Azhar spoke of the numerous prophets who preceded Muḥammad. "Islam is no new religion, but rather the religion of those prophets." "We make no distinction between any of them" (Surah ii. 136). "He has come with the Truth and he confirms (the message) of the Apostles (before him)", (Surah xxxvii.37). "To sum up: the relation between Islam and other divine religions in their initiative stages was that of complete confirmation, while in their present stage this relation is that of confirmation of what has survived of their genuine parts, and of correction of what has been introduced into them."

After quoting Surah ii.256: "Let there be no compulsion in religion," the author of the paper added: "The Qurʾān drew up the scheme for the propagation of Islam through proof and advice given kindly and leniently: 'Invite to the way of the Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching'." (Surah xvi:125).

Another paper was entitled "Christianity and Islam." Many passages from it deserve to be quoted. "Many prophets known to the Old Testament have been treated in the Holy Qurʾān with all reverence and sanctity. But among all those Jesus Christ occupies an especially privileged position. In Surah iv.171 he is called Apostle of God, Word of God, and Spirit from God. "The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, and Apostle of God and His Word which he communicated to Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him."

"Tabarsī, the well known Shīʿah commentator of the 12th century A.D., goes on to say that 'Word of God' signifies that through Jesus the truth of God is revealed to mankind," and then other passages are referred to concerning the Logos and the Holy Spirit. Seventy-eight verses of the Qurʾān speak of Jesus, his mission, his teachings, and his followers.

In the past there has been controversy between Christians and Muslims. The three main issues have been (i) the Divinity of Christ, (ii) the Crucifixion, and (iii) the Gospel.

"Jesus according to Islam is a divine man, whereas for the orthodox Christian he is the Divinity himself in the form of a man. In the first

case he is a godly man; in the second case he is God as man. Now it is a fact that any idea of anthropomorphism and any form of Incarnation is alien to Islam. Therefore, any human relationship, even if it were only verbal, like the Doctrine of the Trinity, is not compatible with Islamic teachings."

"As for the Crucifixion", said the speaker, "I personally feel deeply sorry that such a beautiful expression of human tragedy is not reflected in the Holy Qur'ān. The idea of Christ's carrying his own cross is inexpressibly sublime. I am not able to explain the matter, but I do not want to pass over this fact without pointing to an important implication of the Qur'ān verses. The idea is that Jesus being the embodiment of the Spirit from God could not be killed or annihilated; he did not die because he possessed the ever-living Spirit; God raised him up unto Himself."

The speaker went on to say that Jesus did not leave the Gospel in the form of a written record. Islam does not infer that Christians purposely changed the Gospel, but rather that during the course of time certain passages were interpreted in ways which may not have been intended by Jesus himself. "I am firmly convinced that a true reconciliation between Christianity and Islam is possible. By this I really do not mean to speak in the sense of the fashionable peaceful coexistence but I mean real and very cordial reconciliation and even cooperation. My reasons for holding this view are: (i) Both religions believe in one God; Eternal and Supreme Being, the Creator of the Universe; both under similar attributes worship Him and offer prayers, although they differ about His Nature and personification. (ii) Both believe in the immortality of the soul and responsibility of man. (iii) Both believe in the spiritual and moral life, inviting mankind to fight against vice and to live up to the higher principles such as love, service, sacrifice and other good works. (iv) The guiding principles of both religions are more alike than some of us realize. There are actually passages in the Qur'ān corresponding directly to passages in the Scriptures. Compare, for instance, those picked up by Kenneth Cragg in his recent lectures entitled 'Christianity and Islam'." "The age of bigotry is expiring and the time is calling for mutual understanding" "It is the time to declare a crusade against our common enemy, namely the Materialism of our age."

"Let us first realise that we are not required to make undue concessions." Let us study each other's faith. "The mission's work should be something more sublime than a strategy of proselytising." "The Muslim missionary instead of attacking the Doctrine of the Trinity or Mary cult, etc., should try to study the Sermon on the Mount, the story of the Woman of Samaria in St. John, the wonderful teaching on faith, hope, and charity in I Corinthians. The Christian missionary instead of attacking the practice of polygamy, the questions of Holy War or Slavery, should emphasize the genuine moral and social

teachings of the Qurʾān, as, for instance, the opening verse of Sūrah xxiii, called 'The Believers.' So I really think that a thorough-going revision of the traditional method of missionary activity is indispensable."

ISLAM'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE

Surahs ii.212 (213) and xlix.13 explain that God made mankind one nation and then separated them into groups. Surah xvi.125 tells the believers to reason in a courteous manner with those who go a different way. Surah xxii.39-40, and Surah ii.190 make it clear that men must fight for self-defense, but not as aggressors. "Fight for the sake of God those who fight against you, but do not attack them first. God does not love aggressors." One of the Chinese delegates referred to this point as follows: "Only by resisting aggression can we safeguard peace. The Chinese proverbs say: 'Under an overturned nest there can be no complete eggs' also: 'Without the skin where grows the hair?' To safeguard motherland and resist aggression is the pre-requisite to safeguarding religion."

Many quotations and historical references were given by different speakers to prove that Muḥammad told men not to compel unbelievers to accept the Faith and to refrain from aggressive warfare. Numerous papers stressed the need for the enforcement of international law and the safeguarding of treaties and contracts. Fourteen Muslim states now belong to the United Nations and they can do much to encourage peace. During a year when so many offers of peace negotiations are being made Surah viii.61 seems very timely: "If they incline towards peace, make peace with them and put your trust in God."

The papers made it clear that although the Jihād is needed for protection, aggressive warfare is wrong. It is in keeping with the Qurʾān and the teachings of the Prophet to seek peace. The old spirit of enmity, which existed during the Crusades, must come to an end. "Muslim civilization is much more akin to Christianity than the European materialistic, technological civilization."

"It is not at all unlikely that Christianity, abandoning the present pagan civilization of Europe, which is bearing the elements of its own destruction, will produce in alliance with Islam a new civilization that will outshine the present one and save humanity from an imminent catastrophe. The first step, therefore, is to create a rapprochement between the two great religions of the world and to work for a new civilization, by explaining to the world that the European civilization requires urgent spiritualization through the combined efforts of Islam and Christianity."

THE SYMPOSIUM ON ISLAM

After the Colloquium at Lahore, Dr. K. J. Newman and Dr. G. W. Choudhury organized a second conference in Dacca, under the auspices

of the Political Science Association of the University. Here Professor T. Cuyler Young of Princeton and Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery gave individual lectures. Drs. Drewes of Leiden, G. E. von Grünebaum of California, R. N. Frye of Harvard, and Bayard Dodge were the foreign professors who attended the meetings, together with numbers of Pakistani scholars.

The conference at Dacca, called "The Symposium on Islam," lasted two days (January 12th and 13th, 1958) It gave the people of East Pakistan a taste of what took place at Lahore.

Before the formation of Pakistan, Dacca was a small provincial city, but today it has about 450,000 inhabitants. East Pakistan as a whole numbers 42,000,000, about three quarters of whom are Muslim and the others mostly Hindu. Although the University of Dacca is only partially developed, it has an extensive campus outside of the crowded sections of the old town. There are about three thousand students, a fair proportion of whom are women. The best buildings have been turned over to the medical school and hospital, but a number of handsome structures accommodate the other branches of the University.

The Symposium was held under a canopy on the lawn of the institution. About two hundred persons were present at each session. Addresses were in English. The subjects discussed were: "Islam and the Movement for Pakistan," "Social Structure and Islam," "State and Religion." As the gatherings were of an intimate nature, political as well as social and religious problems were treated.

Some of the papers contained information about the political and cultural problems of Pakistan, but most of them were similar to the papers read at Lahore. One woman made an address at the opening meeting and the daughter of the Chief Secretary read one of the formal papers.

Two of the speakers were leaders of the new Pakistan and their addresses were especially impressive, because of their courageous and progressive outlook. One, a famous patriot, Abūl-Hāshim, white haired, blind, and clad in a mediaeval garb, revealed a fiery enthusiasm for a bold new interpretation of the principles of Islam. The other, Dr. Maḥmūd Ḥasan, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University and Educational Adviser to the Government, and Minister to three of the Arab states, is at present Chairman of the East Pakistan Public Service Commission. Although his message to the Symposium was not in written form, it contained the same ideas which are expressed in one of his printed articles. Some of these ideas deserve to be quoted.

After explaining how the rising tide of European supremacy divided the Muslims into two groups, he said: "On the one hand the conservative Muslims were unable to adjust themselves to the completely changed conditions and circumstances in which they found themselves: they lost touch with all material progress and scientific

development, or reacted violently against them, because these emphasized directly or indirectly their poor, humiliating, helpless and hopeless political, social, and financial condition. This reactionary attitude resulted in the adoption of a rigid and narrow orthodoxy which ignored the spirit and the real significance of Islamic principles, and concerned itself solely with old tradition and way of life. The words 'Ḥaram', 'Kufr', 'Bidᶜah' were ceaselessly and unthinkingly used. On the other hand, the younger generations of Muslims were awed and impressed by the material and scientific progress of their western masters and cut themselves off deliberately from their old religious and cultural moorings. Many even became ashamed of the label 'Muslim' which they could not discard openly on account of social and political difficulties: These 'modernised' Muslims were convinced that Islam was a spent force, which could not stand against the onslaught of western material progress." Then he repeated what an English Orientalist once said to him: "Islam has now only two alternatives before it: to be orthodox and conservative and die; or to be modern, follow the West, and live." "I said to him in reply that there was a third alternative, namely, Islam should cut away all unhealthy undergrowth, and recapture and revive its fundamental principles and ideals."

"The Qurᵓān, as Iqbāl has pointed out, emphasizes 'deed.' So there must be common ideology and mutual understanding and respect between 'Mullas' and 'Modern Muslims'. Then will Islam regain its pristine glory and achieve in the world its noble mission.

CONCLUSION

As we listened to these papers we realized the significance of the great crisis through which Islam is passing at the present time. Nationalism and independence, the machine age and science, substitution of the scientific method for acceptance of authority, the emancipation of women and social modernism, materialism and Communism, indifference to mosque worship, doubts about the inerrancy of the Scriptures, and loss of faith in the ᶜUlamāᵓ, are forcing the scholars to reinterpret their doctrines and causing confusion in the minds of the youth.

Inasmuch as Christians as well as Muslims are face to face with these common dangers, it was appropriate for scholars from the West to share with their Muslim colleagues at Lahore and Dacca the problems by which all are alike confronted. Thus the Colloquium at Lahore and the Symposium at Dacca were most timely.

Cairo, Egypt. BAYARD DODGE

THE IDEA OF PRAYER IN THE THOUGHT OF IQBĀL

According to a familiar Tradition of the Prophet, prayer is the essence of worship. To understand the deepest feeling and the most lofty ideas of any great religious genius or poet we must discover the role that prayer plays in his life and how he conceives of it. Not least is this true in respect of the spiritual father of Pakistan, the philosopher-poet of the Muslim sub-continent, Muḥammad Iqbāl (1873-1938). Prayer was the keystone of all his ideas. [1]

In his great book on Prayer (*Das Gebet,* 1923) Professor Friedrich Heiler distinguishes between the 'prophetic' and 'mystic' as recognisable and sharply contrasted types of religious expression. The goal of mystic prayer, after ascetic preliminaries, is the preparation of the soul for full union with God, the meditation of God's transcendant beauty and the contemplation of his unchanging eternity. A wide variety of religious truths may be the themes of this mystical regulation of meditation. It may be sin and grace, the Cross of Christ and the Eucharist, in Christian mysticism, or the endless repetition of the holy Name or a short prayer-formula, as in Islamic dervish orders (and also some Christian monasteries like Athos). But mystical prayer ends at the moment when union with God is attained. For then even prayer, the most intimate speech of the soul, becomes a veil between God and the loving, longing heart. In union, there remains nothing but the 'clear darkness' and the inexhaustible Godhead, where silence becomes the true essence of prayer. This both Muslim and Christian writers aver.

The mystic seeks from God only His nearness and union with Him. He despises worldly affairs. The beatific vision, the sweet ecstacy, these are all. The decrees of the eternal Beloved the mystic gladly, gratefully, uncomplainingly, accepts. "Whatever the beloved sends is good." Such surrender and resignation from all that is not God demands great spiritual energy. It is no vocation for idle dreamers. The God of the mystics can be described either as a Neutrum a spiritualized force, the Godhead beyond the personal God, or as the essence of eternal beauty, the Beloved.

---

[1] Among the works quoted here are: *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* O.U.P., reprinted 1954: *Payam-i-Mashriq* (in Persian), 1923: *Asrār-i-Khūdī,* (Persian) 1915: (Translation by R. A. Nicholson, "The Secrets of the Self," 1920) *Jāvīdnāme* (Persian) 1932 (German translation by Annemarie Schimmel, 1957 Buch der Ewigkeit): *Bal-i-Jibrīl* (Urdu) 1935: *Ḍarb-i-Kalīm,* (Urdu) 1937: *Armagan-i-Ḥijāz* (Persian and Urdu) 1938: Books on Iqbāl are, e.g. A. J. Arberry, *Persian Psalms, 1948; Iqbal as a Thinker,* Essays by eminent scholars, 1944: Raziuddin Siddiqi, *Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space*; K. G. Sayidain, *Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought*: M. M. Sharif, *Iqbal's Concept of God:* Khalifa Abdul Hakim, *Rumi, Nietzsche and Iqbal:* Fazlur Rahman, *Iqbal and Mysticism*: Aziz Ahmad, *Iqbal's Political Theory*: Kalim ud-din Aḥmad, *Iqbal's Conception of Art*: F. Mahmud, *Iqbal's Attitude towards God.* E. H. Enver, *The Metaphysics of Iqbal.*

In 'prophetic' religion, however, God is active, creative personality, the strong Lord, or the loving Father. He is, as N. Soderblom has pointed out, [2] a living God, felt from the first moment as a personal power, to Whom men dare to come, as they might to a king or a father, with all the tale of their griefs and sorrows. The last goal of prayer here in the 'prophetic' type of experience, is the realization of the Kingdom of God. Man asks, not only for heavenly bliss and the *visio beatifica,* but also for health and life, for worldly goods. His aim, amid these, is to subdue his thoughts to God and find an identity of will with the will of God. It is this contact of the soul with the living God that forms the central emphasis of Chapter III in Iqbāl's welknown *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* Referring to "The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer" he writes:

> "...Religious ambition soars higher than the ambition of philosophy. Religion is not satisfied with mere conception: it seeks a more intimate knowledge of and a association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is the act of worship ending in spiritual illumination... You will see that, psychologically speaking, prayer is instinctive in its origin. The act of prayer as aiming at knowledge resembles reflection. Yet prayer at its highest is much more than abstract reflection. Like reflection it too is a process of assimilation, but the assimilative process in the case of prayer draws itself closely together and thereby acquires a power unknown to pure thought. In thought the mind observes and follows the working of reality: in the act of prayer it gives up its career as a seeker of slow-footed universality and rises higher than thought to capture reality itself with a view to becoming a conscious participator in its life. There is nothing mystical about it. Prayer as a means of spiritual illumination is a normal, vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a larger whole of life.
> ...The quest after nameless nothing, as disclosed in Neo-Platonic mysticism — be it Christian or Muslim — cannot satisfy the modern mind which, with its habits of concrete thinking, demands a concrete living experience of God. And the history of the race shows that the attitude of the mind embodied in the act of worship is a condition for such an experience. In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature..." (pp. 89-91.)

From these sentences, we understand the deep importance Iqbāl ascribes to prayer. Furthermore, he takes prayer as proof of two of the most central themes in his whole philosophy, namely the Ego and the two levels of time. As we have seen in the above quoted words, the Indo-Muslim thinker holds that only through prayer (in the widest sense of the word) can the individual soul come in touch with the greatest Ego called God. Iqbāl, beginning with his Mathnavi: *Asrār-i-Khūdī* (published 1915), tried to show that man must not, as the mystics of all times and religions had thought, extinguish the candle

[2] N. Soderblom, *Der Lebendige Gott.* Nachgelassene Gifford Vorlesungen, hrsg. von F. Heiler, 1938.

of personality in the boundless ocean of God's light. Each must, on the contrary, strengthen his Ego and enlarge its possibilities. Iqbāl always preached — against the resistance of so-called mystics — that man, instead of seeing sweet dreams of union and melting love, must use all his hidden powers, and try to embrace and appropriate all that makes him stronger, thus winning the possibility of infinite development. For man, as the Qur'ān teaches, is the Khalīfah of God in this world, and has been created in order to work and to develop.

Though we may find in Iqbāl's conception of the Ego, the development of man, and the final, spiritual station of Superman, some traces of Nietzsche's philosophy (as well as from the Islamic conception of the Perfect Man, as it is found in the works of Ibn ᶜArabī, Jilī, and other mystics), the difference between the Nietzschean superman and the ideal man of Muḥammad Iqbāl is enormous. For Iqbāl's ideal personality, the true *faqīr,* lives in close touch with God who is shown — in the same way the great prophets had seen Him — as the greatest Ego of all, the Personality *kat' exochen,* to whom man can speak, and Who has promised to answer. "Call upon Me and I will answer thee". It is especially on this verse of the Qurᵓān that the Muslim thinker builds his proofs of God's Egohood. For only an Ego can speak to another Ego. Man, who is yearning not for perfection but for a direct contact with the Ultimate Reality, tries to pray, asks for a companion, a being to whom he can open these inmost mysteries of his heart: "Prayer," says Iqbāl, [3] "is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the Universe." In many of his poems, Iqbāl has expressed what as philosopher he had explained by means of psychology. The longing for the presence of God is one of his favorite subjects:

"Either open this veil of mysteries,
Or take away this soul that has no vision,"

as we read in the opening prayer of the *Jāvīdnāme,* where most of the poet's ideas are to be found. Only this living contact with God grants real life:

"Too old are those stars, over consumed the firmament:
I need a fresh, new born world.
Who knows the end of the world, the judgement?
As for me, when Thou lookest once, that is resurrection."

From the philosophical angle, Iqbāl's conception of prayer as the sole refuge from that frightful emptiness enveloping man, finds support in the views of the German vitalist, R. Eucken, to whose ideas Iqbāl's thought shows a frequent affinity. Eucken remarks:

> "It seems as if man would never escape from himself. And yet, when shut in to the monotony of his own sphere, he is overwhelmed by a sense of emptiness. The only remedy here is a radical transformation of the concept

[3] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 92.

> of man himself, and to distinguish within him the narrower and the larger life, the life that is straitened and finite and can never transcend itself, and an infinite life through which he enjoys communion with the immensity and with the truth of the universe. Can man rise to this spiritual level? On the possibility of his doing so rests our only hope of giving any meaning or value to life."[4]

When Iqbāl finds proof of God's Egohood in this possibility of man's coming in touch with Him and speaking to Him, he shares the view of one of the leading philosophers of modern Germany, Heinrich Scholz (died 1956) who writes:

> "It belongs to the character of the Divine that it is given as a Thou. Thus the content of the religious consciousness of God can never be the same entity that metaphysics calls 'the Absolute.' For it is clearly an absurdity to contact the Absolute in the form of a Thou, indeed even to come into touch at all."[5]

Contact with the Absolute, as sought by many of the most influential mystics is only possible on quite other levels of consciousness and ultimately involves a passing away from all qualities of thought and from life, in the normal sense of the word.

According to Iqbāl, God's answer to the seeking and yearning soul, far from extinguishing, strengthens the Ego:

> "Unitive experience is not the finite Ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite Ego: it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite."[6]

We may question whether this does not stand in opposition both to the teachings of the Qurʾān and modern philosophical theories.

Though it seems strange to one who is acquainted with the famous teaching of Islamic mysticism that: "None saith 'I' except God," and that real personality belongs to God alone, we can find the foundations of Iqbāl's thought in some Traditions attributed to the Prophet, especially in the famous Ḥadīth qudsī when God says: "Heaven and earth do not contain Me, but the heart of my faithful servant contains Me."

And Jalāluddīn Rūmī (d. 1273), the spiritual teacher of Muḥammad Iqbāl, often praises in his mystical poetry the mysterious fact that He, Whom the universe can not bound, dwells, like a secret treasure, in the lover's heart. And in a chapter of the Mathnavī, Rūmī's poetical legacy to generations of Persian-reading Muslims, he tells how Muḥammad, when he was a child, got lost in the desert. But a heavenly voice consoled his nurse Ḥalīmah: "Do not grieve, he will not be lost to thee—nay, the whole world will be lost in him"— a story quoted

---

[4] R. Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens,* p. 81.
[5] Heinrich Scholz, *Religionsphilosophie, 2nd edition,* p. 138.
[6] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 110.

by Iqbāl in his *Asrār-i-Khūdī* (xiv). Neither the infinite universe nor churches or mosques can bear the Divine presence:

"Thou hast no room in the ḥaram of Mecca nor comest into the temple of the idol-worshippers—
But how quickly comest Thou, longing, to longing people!" [7]

This Divine presence, dwelling in the human heart, strengthens man's Ego by his nearness:

> "The end of the Ego's search is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is on the contrary more precise definition of it". [8]

The same idea is to be found in the German vitalist philosopher Lotze, to whose works Iqbāl sometimes refers in his thesis, and Lotze's ideas have been enlarged and deepened by the great English catholic philosopher, Friedrich von Hügel who writes in an essay on *Religion and Reality* lines that could be a commentary on Iqbāl's philosophy of the Ego and its prayer-life:

> "Indeed we can safely hold with Lotze, not only that Personality is compatible with Infinitude, but that the personality of all finite beings can be shown to be imperfect because of their finitude, and hence that perfect Personality is compatible only with the conception of an Infinite Being; finite beings can only achieve an approximation to it". (Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie, ed. 1884).

The experience of God in prayer is, according to Iqbāl, the deepest experience of the Ego as Ego. "Man's perfection can be determined in proportion to the degree of his self-possession in the presence of God". [9]

This is the truth which the poet expresses in one of his last short poems:

"If you want to see God openly,
Learn to see your Ego more openly!" [10]

This experience, the standing of man in face of God, as it is beautifully described in the great closing scene of Iqbāl's *Jāvīdnāme,* can not be expressed in ordinary symbols:

"Neither do I know myself nor Him,
But I know that my I is in His embrace". [11]

Only so can one indicate the ineffable speech between man and God.

Iqbāl's philosophy of prayer (if we may use this term) not only tries to prove the reality of Egohood but also the thinker's theory of Time. According to him, there exist two completely different types of time. One of them (comparable to the durée of Bergson, under whose

---

[7] *Payam-i-Masriq,* p. 207.
[8] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 198.
[9] *Iqbal as a Thinker, op. cit.* p. 60, cf. *Zabūr-i-Ajam,* 1929, p. 32.
[10] *Armagan-i-Ḥijāz,* p. 15.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

influence Iqbāl lived for some time) is the time in God, the non-serial time, that means "the intensive but not extensive infinity of God that involves an infinite series but is not that series" [12].

Serial time is only brought into existence by the very act of creation. Our daily life is bound into serial time, which the poet-philosopher compares to the magician's girdle, the zunnār that must be loosed by the true believer when he succeeds in reaching the Divine time [13]. Divine time is an eternal Now, and here, "God's eye sees all the visibles and His ear hears all the audibles in an indivisible act of perception" [14]. Now, the experience of prayer that brings into close contact the inmost being of man and God lifts man to such a level that he, in a single moment of intuition, can grasp reality in its wholeness. This act of intuition is the fruit of love. It can not be analyzed by any scientific method, and is beyond the experiences of reason. It is the sole prerogative of the loving heart. Here, Iqbāl's theory of the Divinity of love (ʿIshq), and its opposition to ʿIlm, dry reasoning of science, finds its highest expression. Only love and longing can set free mankind from the chains of created, serial time, can bring them into touch with the uncreated time, "the reckoning of which is not by years and months" [15]. In the great speech of Zurvan, the old Iranian God of (serial) Time in the beginning of the *Jāvīdnāme,* the poet teaches that man must reach the point of لله مع ی ("I have a time with God") before he can evade Time's changes and vicissitudes. Iqbāl alludes here, as he does in many other verses [16] to the well-known prophetic word: "I have a time with God where even Gabriel has no access". This Ḥadīth has often been used by mystics in order to express their unitive experiences. Notably Jalāluddīn Rūmī quoted it both in his Mathnavī and in a famous passage of his prose-work *Fīhi mā fīhi.*

> Jalāluddīn was asked: "Is there any way to God nearer than prayer?" "No", he replied: "but prayer does not consist in forms alone. Formal prayer has a beginning and an end, like all forms and bodies and everything that partakes of speech and sound; but the soul is unconditioned and infinite: it has neither beginning nor end. The prophets have shown the true nature of prayer ... Prayer is the drowning and unconsciousness of the soul, so that all these forms remain without. At that time there is no room even for Gabriel who is pure spirit..." [17]

Since prayer is the most intimate speech of the soul with God, Muslim mystics have always, when describing the ascension of the Prophet to Heaven, laid stress upon the fact that even Gabriel could not

---

[12] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 64.
[13] *Jāvīdnāme, op. cit.* p. 21: *Asrār-i-Khūdī,* verse 1552/55: *Ḍarb.* s.f. 7.
[14] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 75.
[15] *Payam-i-Mashriq,* p. 219.
[16] *Asrār-i-Khūdī,* verse 1564.
[17] Cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele,* Leiden, 1955, p. 159 ff.

join Muḥammad's last entry into the Presence of God. "He remained — (as a Turkish poet says) — at the Sidra-Tree like a nightingale who is separated from the rose". And Iqbāl himself, in the last chapter of the *Jāvīdnāme,* comes lonely — without a mediator-angel, without his spiritual leader Rūmī — into the Presence of the Lord. For:

"Between me and the House of God is a secret
That even Gabriel the faithful does not understand" [18].

In this presence of God, as it is poetically described in the last verses of the abovementioned book, there are man and God looking to each other,

"In the solitude where word would be a veil,
I tell the story of the heart with the tongue of my eyes" [19].

Iqbāl's expression here reminds one of the paradoxes used by the mystics who tried to tell their ecstatic experience—paradoxes which have their classical form in the great tāʾiyyah of Ibn al-Fārid (d. 1235) when he says:

"My eye conversed whilst my tongue gazed; my ear spoke and my hand listened,
And whilst my ear was an eye to behold all that was shown, my eye was an ear listening to song". (v. 580)

The Presence of God, according to Iqbāl, is "a growth undiminishing." [20] When man has reached the climax of prayer, and stays eye to eye, brow to brow with the Absolute Self, so experiencing the infinite possibilities in God, his word may be heard by God, and he may ask from God the altering of His will and the granting to him of a new life and a new destination.

Here a question rises that has interested the whole world of Islam since the beginning of theological thinking and mystical feeling: the question whether, if prayer is allowed, it is efficient? [21] How can prayer be compatible with the everlasting decrees of God? In the Qurʾān, as is well-known, the ideas of free will and of absolute predestination stand side by side. Some Sufis in the middle ages, like ʿAbdullāh ibn Mubārak and Wāsiṭī, boasted of never having asked God for anything. And when Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, one of the most notorious quietists among the eldest generation of Muslim mystics, came into a tempest and the friends asked him urgently to pray for the salvation of the crew, he answered "This is not the time for praying, this is the moment for surrender." [22] But the greater part not only of Islamic theologians but also of mystics clung to the promise given in the Qurʾān ادعونی فاستجب "Call upon me, and I will answer your prayer." So a prophetic

[18] *Armagan,* p. 14.
[19] *Payam-i-Mashriq,* p. 173.
[20] *Jāvīdnāme,* p. 223.
[21] Cf. Schimmel, *Some Aspects of Mystical Prayer in Islam, Die Welt des Islams,* 1952: Ritter, *Das Meer, op. cit.* p. 55.
[22] Abū Nasr al Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī-l-Taṣawwuf,* Ed. R. A. Nicholson, 1914, p. 262.

Tradition related by Al-Tirmidhī (*qadar* 6) teaches that "nothing wards off the decree (*qaḍā*) but prayer." The greatest Muslim thinkers and saints, like Al Ghazālī and Jilānī were sure that prayer, too, was preordained and belonged to the *qadar,* and that it is not forbidden to use the shield of prayer against the arrows of evil.[23] The famous Persian saint, Al-Kāzerūnī, was asked: "When food and sustenance are provided, why does prayer exist, and why do we ask?" He answered: "In order to show clearly the greatness and high rank of the believer, as God has said: 'If I give Thee without being asked by thee, the perfection of thy honour would not be revealed! And, therefore, I ordained prayer, so that thou shalt call to Me and I shall answer thy calling.' "[24] And even more: the greatest religious leaders of "prophetic" type have been sure that prayer can change the world, can alter the decrees of God. Luther often expressed this idea: "After prayer, God altereth His decree and will, what you may remember well. And here, one must not discuss the secret and veiled change of the Divine Will, but learn it, as Psalm cxlv. enjoins us: 'He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and will help them.' He will leave His will and do their will. That is a Christian's greatest dignity and his priesthood that he can come with his prayer into God's presence and prevail upon God:"[25] The same idea is expressed by Muḥammad Iqbāl in most of his poetry and prose-works. It is the problem of *jabr,* or predestination. What do predestination, destiny, Divine Decree mean to him? "Destiny is the inward reach of the Ego," he assures us. Every Ego is, of course, limited by its inner possibilities (cf. Enver 44), and free will or changing of destiny can only be imagined within those given limits. The possibilities of a tree are one set, and those of a bee are another, those of a simpleton or an uncivilized pygmy are another and those of a full-grown, well-educated personality yet another. The more man knows himself and his inner richness, the stronger will be the efficiency of his prayers. He stands then as a real personality in the presence of God, and can ask him even the greatest things. It is the level, where man does not ask for earthly goods nor for angelic bliss but for God Himself. Rūmī pointed out this truth:

"Under the towers of the Divine Greatness live men,
who hunt the angels, take prophets for prey, and seize God."[26]

And Iqbāl has repeated this bold expression in the *Payām-i-Mashriq*:

"In the wilderness of our madness is Gabriel only a mean prey —
Take God in your snare, ye heroic man!"

The man who has developed his Ego and is aware of his own spiritual

[23] *Iḥyā'*, Vol. I, p. 298 (Bulaq). Cf. Bajuri, quoted by M. Horten, *Die Religion der Gebildeten im Islam,* p. 138; W. Braume, *Die Futūḥ al- Ghaib des Abd al-Qadīr al-Gilānī,* p. 142.
[24] Cf. Ritter "Muslim Mystics' Strife with God," *Oriens,* V.
[25] Cf. Heiler, *op. cit.* p. 399.
[26] Cf. *Iqbal as a Thinker, op. cit.* p. 162.

wealth, can understand the wisdom of God's decrees, and tries to help Him by realizing His decrees on earth. He stands before God as a kind of second creator who is the more active and efficient the nearer he draws towards God. Sometimes he may revolt in Promethean defiance, but at last he will cry, as the poet does in the *Jāvīdnāme*:

"We have suited Thee,
now, suit us!" [27]

This mutual understanding, the revaluation of man's will that has suited to God's will, the creative activity gained in prayer, these are, according to Iqbāl, the meaning of Islam, which means, a religion of heroes. The *jabr*, or destiny, changes in proportion to the spiritual situation of man, in proportion to his nearness to God. Even Maulānā Rūmī laid stress on this point:

"*Jabr* is the wing of the Perfect,
Jabr is the prison and chain of the Ignorant.
Know that *jabr* is like the water of the Nile:
Water to the Believer, but blood to the Pagan." [28]

Only when man develops his interior possibilities, when he becomes aware of his spiritual richness, will he be able to seek another destiny — Iqbāl finds that wisdom in a verse of the Qurʾān (Surah xiii. 12): "Verily God will not change the condition of men till they change what is in themselves." And he asserts that "This vital way of appropriating the universe is what the Qurʾān calls ʿĪmān. Īmān is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind; it is living assurance begotten of a rare experience. Strong personalities alone are capable of rising to this experience and the higher 'fatalism' implied in it." [29]

The extreme nearness that man feels in this last experience of prayer, leads him sometimes to such a boldness of expression that it comes close to impiety. Iqbāl, thus dares to utter harsh words that would be unthinkable in the mouth of a contemplating lover, intoxicated by the cup of Eternal Beauty. But this boldness and even harshness in prayer is a fact that is often to be found even in very religious people. Even Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910), the leader of the Iraqī Sufis, the "peacock of the poor" — who always preferred mystic sobriety to ecstacy — even he is related to have said: "When love becomes right, the conditions of fine education no longer apply." [30] ʿAṭṭār and Rūmī also told many stories of people who spoke angrily, even offensively, and without any respect, to God. Turkish popular mystical poets often criticized God's decrees and especially the many-coloured conceptions of the Last Judgment, of Paradise and Hell. It is suffi-

[27] *Op. cit.* p. 14.
[28] Jalāluddīn Rūmī, *The Mathnavī-i-Maʿnavī*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Gibb Memorial Series. New Series, iv. 1 8.
[29] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 109.
[30] *Iḥyāʾ. op. cit.* iv. p. 292. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-aulīyāʾ*, ed by R. A Nicholson, Vol. ii. p. 29.

cient to recall the interesting, sweet poem of Yunus Emre (d. 1307) "Aye Lord if you once would like to ask me..." or some verses of Kaygusuz Abdal (15th century) or other Bektashi poets. Even to day Turkish popular piety knows the saint who has reached the level of *nāz* (coquettery), and can scold God without being punished.

As for Iqbāl, his sometimes revolutionary poetical prayers are an expression of his feeling as a strong personality who is able to change the Divine decrees. He is proud to be a human being and to live on the highest level nature affords, proud because he is able to work, and to better by his own work the created nature. This idea has been expressed in one of the most touching poems of the *Payām-i Mashriq* (p. 132), the "Dialogue between God and Man"; ending with man's bold assertion:

"Thou didst create night and I made the lamp,
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup.
Thou didst create the deserts, mountains and forests,
I produced the orchards, gardens, and the groves;
It is I who turned stone into a mirror,
And it is I who turned poison into an antidote!"

For, just as Iqbāl has pointed out in another line:

"God decreed: 'It is like this and mention not aught'
Man said. 'Verily it is like this but it ought to be like that.'"

The world is, after the first act of Creation, incomplete, and needs man for its perfecting, as it is described in the "Prologue in Heaven" of the *Jāvīdnāme*. Therefore, the poet sometimes taunts God:

"A thousand worlds blossom like roses in the meadow of my imagination,
Thou hast created only one world, and that even from the blood of man's hope." [31]

Since the whole creation is incomplete, man, its highest goal, is not as he should be. Satan, in the wonderful lines in the *Jāvīdnāme*, asks for a stronger and more active companion, i.e. a superman, who does not yield feebly to seduction and temptation but grows by his resistance. The poet-philosopher likewise deplores that man is so weak a creature, a plaything of worldly forces:

"Create something new, make a more ripened Adam.
It does not befit a God to make a toy from clay." [32]

Iqbāl, who had sung in his first poetic prayers, like a hundred Persian poets before him:

"I am the plaintive nightingale of a forsaken garden,
I ask for effective help for one in need,"

urges quite a different theme in his later poetry. Unlike the early wish, plaintively and somewhat more respectfully expressed in the words:

[31] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 183.
[32] *Ibid.* p. 192.

"By Thy glory, I have no other desire in my heart
Except the prayer that Thou mayest grant
The might of an eagle to the pigeons,"

he searches for direct touch with God, not as a poor nightingale or pigeon. He complains in the last scene of the *Jāvīdnāme* that he cannot understand why man should die and only God be everlasting.

"My madness has a grievance against Thy Divinity:
For Thyself Thou hast the spaceless, for me the four dimensioned space,"

wherein man has to remember constantly his first disobedience and his fall from Paradise, and so to fear judgement and hell. How can God, urges Iqbāl, be so unjust?

"Thou hast acquainted every thorn with the story of my fall.
Thou hast thrown me in the desert of madness and made me rue.
My sin was (that I tasted) the forbidden corn.
His (Satan's) sin was from a prostration (he did not make)
Thou didst not reconcile him, the wretched, nor didst Thou us."

Thus the idea of judgement, as conceived by popular theologians, is unacceptable with Iqbāl. He never sought after death a static, quiet resting place, but always yearned for an infinite development. He sees judgement as a two sided account.

"When the roll of my deeds is brought upon the day of reckoning,
Look into it, and be ashamed as Thou wilt shame me,"

an idea not too remote from the protests of early Muslim mystics. [33] Man feels himself not responsible for the astrayness of the world — "When the stars of the heavens go astray, is it my sake or Thine?" he asks, but in the same moment he is ready to adorn the world of phenomena by his work, to embellish the hitherto dark and tasteless earth. In one of his most beautiful prayers, Iqbāl summons the Creator:

"Thou art the limitless ocean and I am but a tiny rivulet —
Either make me Thy peer or turn me limitless at least.
Why hadst Thou ordered me to quit the Garden of Eden?
Now there is much to be done here — so just wait for me!" [34]

The so-called Fall has enabled man to work in this world, and to develop, to reach new spiritual levels. Man is the representative of a world of longing, a longing for perfection, a longing for knowledge. Iqbāl once addressed God in this way:

"What hast Thou to do in this world of pain and longing?
Dost thou have my fire or my restlessness?" [35]

But that may be regarded as only a sudden attack on a quietistic-pantheistic conception of God, Who is only the Beloved but never the Loving. Iqbāl's conception of God is quite the contrary of that static, unmoving Being: an active Ego moving and living. And here, we reach

---

[33]) Cf. Ritter. "Muslims Mystics' Strife with God." *Oriens*. V.
[34]) *Bal-i-Jibrīl*, p. 9.
[35]) *Zabūr*, p. 59.

another important point of view in Iqbāl's attitude toward God, in his philosophy of prayer.

In the last scene of the *Jāvīdnāme,* when the poet is standing in God's overwhelming presence, he asks:

"Life is everywhere searching and seeking —
This delicate question has not yet been solved: am I the prey,
or is He?"

Religious life, according to Muḥammad Iqbāl, is determined by the strength of love and longing man can bear. Only uninterrupted searching, a never-resting quest for the Divine Nearness can help man to win, one day, intimate knowledge of God. "The sleepless eye and the passionate heart" were requested by the poet in his first great Persian poem, the *Asrār-i-Khūdī* (xviii), and the sigh of the longing soul is, to him, more precious than the throne of Jamshīd. This longing, ardent heart is the prerogative of man; thanks to it his rank is higher than that of the angels.

"Gabriel does not know this Hay and Hū
For he does not know the place (*maqām*) of searching." [36]

This longing and searching will never end; every state of life, and even death, is only a short step on the long way of the soul towards God. Man, who is the highest phenomenon in this world, since he contains the possibilities of all lower beings, must transgress even his own worldly limitation, being open to further development in the unseen world. For a soul that is strengthened by love and has completely developed all its possibilities, death is nothing but a little shock, an opening gate towards new possibilities. But only a strong soul can bear this shock. For that reason Iqbāl holds that immortality and eternal life cannot be achieved by everybody but only by real personalities. For them, Paradise is not, as people think, an everlasting holiday, but a task: "The recipient of Divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free Ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding." [37] Here is an idea that resembles that of the Swedish Lutheran Bishop and Professor, Tor Andrae, who laid down a similar point of view in a very important article. [38] Iqbāl supports his theory by quoting the famous Tradition of *Rabbī Zidnī* in poetical form:

"Though he (Muḥammad) has seen the Essence without veil,
Came the cry 'O God, give me more' from his tongue!"

For, as all of the great thinkers agree, God is infinite, and therefore every act of knowledge opens new abysses of unknown realities — when the way *to* God is finished the way *in* God begins. [39]. Al-

[36] *Armagan,* p. 16.
[37] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 123, p. 419.
[38] Tor Andrae, *Die Letzten Dinge,* deutsch von H. H. Schaeder.
[39] Cf. Ritter. *Meer. op. cit.* p. 614 Dhū-l-Nūn asked a woman: 'What is the end of love?' She answered: 'Oh simpleton, it has no end.' 'Why?' 'because the Beloved has no end.' cf. *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 277.

Ghazālī, eight centuries before Iqbāl, formulated the question of longing (*shauq*) in his *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*:

> "Because the Divine things are infinite, and only a small part of them will be unveiled to man, infinite possibilities being always hidden from him, though he knows their existence and though he knows that more things are hidden from his knowledge than those that he knows — therefore he never ceases longing..."

The great mystical philosopher of Islam has expressed the same truth that Iqbāl sings in his most ardent verses — the truth that the "way in God" has no end because "the creative power of God is intensively infinite." To realize some of those infinite possibilities hidden in the depths of God, is, as we have seen, one of the most important duties of mankind, and does not cease with man's death but has to be continued on a higher spiritual level. But just as man is in endless quest for God, so is God in quest of man:

"We are gone astray from God,
He is seeking upon the road,
For like us, He is need entire
And the prisoner of desire."

sings Iqbāl in the *Zabūr-Ajam*.

This idea is not an invention of the modern philosopher; it has, on the contrary, its roots in forgotten centuries, in the dark beginnings of religious feeling and thinking. Just as the Bible tells us that God addressed man first by calling: "Adam, where art Thou?" and giving him thus courage to answer, to talk with God who seeks him, so the Qurʾān avers that, before the creation, God made manifest for one single moment all coming generations of mankind from the loins of Adam and asked them: "Am I not your Lord?" And they answered: "Yes, we attest it!" (Surah vii. — 171) This *ʿahd balā*, the covenant of the pre-eternity, plays an important rôle in Islamic mysticism, especially in mystical poetry where it is often symbolized as the first cup of love, presented by the Divine cup-bearer to men, thus intoxicating them from eternity to eternity. In all religions there exists a strong feeling that man never would have prayed, never would have addressed God, if God Himself had not opened the conversation. Great mystics and prophets all over the world have felt themselves inspired by God, or the Holy Ghost. For the weak creature can not approach the presence of the Most Holy, if he is not called. Dust-made man is honoured by this call from God, and in answering it by prayer, he reaches a place unknown to every other creature. [40]

The mystery that God seeks man, has often been expressed in mysticism both Western and Eastern, perhaps in the most charming and simple words by the Persian mystic, Kharraqānī, when he tells how

---

[40] Cf.Heiler, *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. (oratio infusa). Cf. Al-Ḥallāj, *Le Divan d'al Hallaj*, ed. L. Massignon, 1931, I, i.

one night he saw God Almighty in his dreams and, overflowing with love and joy, cried out: "O my God, for sixty years I hoped to win Thy love, and lived in longing for Thee!" And the Lord answered: "Thou hast sought me sixty years? And We have loved thee from the beginning of the world...!" (Tadk. II p. 253). The finest example of this quest for God in English literature, Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven*, is anticipated by a little known Iraqi-mystic in the middle of the 10th century, Niffary, who heard God say:

> "When I make Myself known unto a servant, and he repels Me, I return, as if I had need of him. It is my preventing generosity that does this, as manifested in my favours: while on his part it is the miserliness of his soul towards himself that does this, that soul which I make to rule over him, but which he does not make to rule over Me. And if he repels Me, I return unto him: I continue to return, and he continues to repel Me; yea, he repels Me, though seeing Me to be the most generous of the generous, and I return unto him, though seeing him to be the most miserly of the miserly, fashioning an excuse for him when he is before Me. Nay, but I make a beginning with forgiveness, before ever the excuse is fashioned, so that I say to him in his secret soul 'I have afflicted thee.' All this I do, that he may depart from the vision of that which estranges him from Me ... And so, whenever he repels Me, I do not cease to convict him of his repelling, and whenever he says: 'I do not repel Thee' I accept it from him..." (Mav. 11, 16).

And how often do we find the idea that God Himself gives prayer, that He causes prayer to grow in us like roses grow from out the dust, that in each: "O Lord" of the slave are a hundred "I am at your service" from God's side; that not only the thirsty are seeking water but water also is seeking the thirsty (M I 1741) — All those examples are taken only from Jalāluddīn Rūmī's works, and could easily be multiplied. [41]

In a Ḥadīth qudsī, God is related to have promised: "When my slave comes nearer to me; a span, I will approach him a yard, and when he approaches one yard, I will approach him one fathom." [42] That is just what Muḥammad Iqbāl wants to indicate: the deepest mystery of prayer is this mutual approach of man and God. —

The mystic becomes silent when he has experienced the union with God through prayer; he is not able to explain the mysteries of the boundless ocean of God, and, notwithstanding, often tries to express the ineffable experience in sweet verses, in paradoxes that can give only a shadowlike reflection of the Absolute. [43] But the prophetic type not only will but must speak of the overwhelming experience of God's presence (cf. the fine characterization of both types in the Dialogue between Zoroaster and Ahriman in Iqbāl's *Jāvīdnāme*). The great pro-

---

[41] *Divān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī*, Ed. by R. A. Nicholson, 1898, xxxii, 9 *The Mathnavī, op. cit.* iii, 2209, 189 and many other places.

[42] *Iḥyāʾ*, Vol. i, p. 265: Wensinck, *Concordance*, Vol. ii, 176.

[43] Mensching, *Das Heilige Schweigen 1926;* Arberry, *Kalabādhī*, p. 95 f.: ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat, op. cit.* i, p. 166: Niffārī, *Mawāqif*, Nr. 22, 5 and many poems of the *Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī* and *Rubāʿīyyāt.*

phetic spirits of all times have always been forced to inform people of what they have heard, to tell them that God the Lord is near, and that man is responsible for his deeds. So does Iqbāl (using in this poem the refrain of one of Jalāluddīn Rūmī's ghazels: "that is my wish;" a poem which was a favorite and which he often quoted in his works):

"They said: 'Close thy lips and do not tell our mysteries!'
I said: 'No! My wish is, to cry the Allāhu akbar!'" [44]

And in the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* Iqbāl contrasts the two types of believers in a psychologically interesting passage (p. 124): "'Muḥammad of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point I should never have returned.' These are the words of a great Muslim saint, ᶜAbd-al Quddūs of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will probably be difficult to find words which, in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary experience'; and even when he does return as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of "unitary experience" is something final; for the prophet it is the awakening, within it, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world. The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the prophet..."

This means that the fruit of real prayer, to the prophetic-minded, is action. But on the other hand, it is also action that leads man to prayer. As we have seen above, the process of searching after the Divine Truth, and the never-ending quest for God is, according to Iqbāl, a life-giving force. But this searching for truth and knowledge may show itself as well in the daily life, in scientific explorations and philological researches as well as in prayer-life.

> "In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature. The scientific observation of Nature keeps us in close touch with the behaviour of Reality, and that sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it .....
> The truth is that all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer." [45]

For scientific researches may bring man to a point where he feels the mystery of the Creation, where, at last, ardent quest for knowledge approaches to adoration. That is the point on which Iqbāl's interest is concentrated: the point where ᶜIshq, the ardour of love, and ᶜIlm,

[44] *Payam-i-Mashriq,* p. 186.
[45] *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 91.

the ardour of science, may be united; and thus help mankind to reach a higher spiritual and moral level. Since Iqbāl includes all kinds of searching in his conception of prayer, it is not astonishing to find the statement, that "in great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing his own identity, and transcends the limits of time and space. Action is the highest form of contemplation."

Prayer is the greatest action; action the greatest prayer — so we may summarize Iqbāl's view. He has expressed this paradox in a famous passage of his Lectures:

> "Prayer ... is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching Ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation, and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the universe. True to the psychology of mental attitude in prayer, the form of worship in Islam symbolizes both affirmation and negation..." [46]

This last sentence leads us to the question of Islamic prayer as seen by Muḥammad Iqbāl. He has, of course, attributed a very great importance to the ritual prayer, which is, in his interesting expression, a means to freedom: "The timing of the daily prayer which, according to the Qurʾān restores 'self-possession' to the Ego by bringing it into closer contact with the ultimate source of life and freedom, is intended to save the Ego from the mechanizing effect of sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is the Ego's escape from mechanism to freedom." [47] Daily prayer is thus the most important prescription given by the Qurʾan to the believers, and is their most precious property. It is both jewel and weapon:

> "The profession of faith is the shell, and prayer is the pearl within it.
> The Muslim's heart deems prayer a lesser pilgrimage
> In the Muslim's hand prayer is like a dagger,
> Killing sin and frowardness and wrong." [48]

Muḥammad Iqbāl follows strictly the traditional view according to which every prayer is a kind of *miʿrāj*, or ascension to Heaven; for Muḥammad, when he longed for the beatitude and bliss he had known in the Presence of God, used to ask his Ethiopian muʿadhdhin, "Oh Bilāl, refresh us with the call to prayer." Though the daily prayer may be said alone, it is to be preferred to perform it in common. For: "The real object of prayer is better achieved when the act of prayer becomes congregational. The spirit of all true prayer is social. Even the hermit abandons the society of men in the hope of finding, in a solitary abode, the fellowship of God. ... It is a psychological truth that association multiplies a normal man's power of perception, deepens his emotion, and dynamizes his will to a degree unknown to him in the

---

[46] *Ibid.* p. 92.
[47] *Ibid.* p. 109.
[48] *Asrār-i-Khūdī*, 87, 4.

privacy of his individuality. Indeed, regarded as a psychological phenomenon, prayer is still a mystery; for psychology has not yet discovered the laws relating to the enhancement of human sensibility in a state of association. With Islam, however, this socialization of spiritual illumination through associative prayer is a special point of interest." [49]

Iqbāl thinks that the form of prayer ought not to become a matter of dispute, but does not ignore, "that the posture of the body is a real factor in determining the attitude of the mind. The choice of one particular direction in Islamic worship is meant to secure the unity of feeling in the congregation, and its form in general creates and fosters the sense of social equality inasmuch as it tends to destroy the feeling of rank or race-superiority in the worshippers! ... From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all Egos follows the essential unity of mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations, and tribes, according to the Qurʾān, is for purposes of identification only. The Islamic form of association in prayer, besides its cognitive value, is further indicative of the aspiration to realize this essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man." [50]

Though Iqbāl pays attention to the outward congregational form of prayer, he always points out that the most important matter is not a beautiful temple or a richly ornamented church or mosque, but the inner approach to God, wherever it be. In the great scene "Lenin and God", [51] he puts in the mouth of the Russian leader the question, to which people God belongs, and why he allows himself to be venerated in wonderful buildings, the poor having no home to live in. And God's "Command to the Angels" runs:

"I am disgusted with all these places of worship built in marble
Go and build a lowly hut of clay for my worship!"

a command which reminds us the harsh words against superabundant offerings and splendid forms of worship that can be found in the Old Testament prophetical books.

In spite of the great importance which Iqbāl attributes to the prescribed prayers, he knows that his wishes, his loving and longing words, can find no room in their forms.

"Wherever I bow my head into the dust, roses rise —
My asking will not find room in two rakʿahs of prayer!" [52]

It surely will not. For Iqbāl, the whole life must be sublimated into prayer; since the greatest prerogative of man is his searching, his ardent pilgrimage towards God. He would not like to be God —

"This Being God must be a headache —

---

[49] *Reconstruction*, p. 94.
[50] *Ibid.* pp. 93-94.
[51] From *Bal-i-Jibrīl.*
[52] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 177.

But this Being Servant, I swear, that is not headache but
heart-ache!"

The rank of the slave of God (*ʿabduhu*) is, in Iqbāl's view, the highest point that ever can be reached. To be the servant of the Almighty Lord, a servant who helps his Master in embellishing the world by enfolding all the hidden possibilities of life, must be the most beautiful life:

"In Thy world, I am servant,
In my world, Thou art Sovereign and Lord!"

Every religious poet has symbols and words which he prefers, because they fit best to his teachings. A poet praising the eternal beauty, and its expression, in this world, will prefer the symbol of Yūsuf of Egypt who is known in Muslim theology and poetry as the most beautiful of mankind; and the use of symbolic figures may change according with psychological changes. As for Muḥammad Iqbāl, he has chosen especially the symbolical use of the name of Moses, the *Kalīm Allāh* "the man with whom God spoke." The name of this prophet occurs not only in the title of one of Iqbāl's greatest Urdu poems (Ḍarb-i-Kalīm) but also elsewhere throughout his verses. For in Moses he found, it would seem, the idea of prayer and of the revelation of God to man, expressed in very adequate form.

"The story of Sinai never grows old,
Because every heart is stirred by the desire of Moses."

Everybody longs for the revelation of God's presence. But as the story of the burning bush teaches us, Moses did not lose himself in the flames, but stood before them, receiving from out of them the Divine command to lead his people to new horizons, both earthly and spiritual. Here we may see the very ideal of Iqbāl. But the poet-philosopher goes even further. Combining the story of Moses with his own philosophy of the Ego, he asks:

"How long will you beg for light like Moses on Mount Sinai?
Let a flame like that of the burning bush leap out from the self."

Only those who have realized the inward powers of personality can partake of the Divine fire, the fire of creating and working, the fire that can change the world completely. Man's destination is that co-operation with God that lies within the capacity of the developing of the Ego. In prayer — and only in prayer — (if we give the word its largest possible connotation) is such realization feasible.

"Why should I ask the wise about my origin,
I am always wanting to know about my goal.
Develop the self so that before every decree
God will ascertain from thee: 'What is thy wish?'"

Faculty of Divinity,
University of Ankara.
AnneMarie Schimmel

THE QUMRĀN SCROLLS AND THE QUR'ĀN

Rather more than ten years ago the first cave containing the Dead Sea Scrolls was discovered. Since then, besides the uncovering of the monastery of the Qumrān sectarians, other caves have yielded their literary treasures. According to computations, the books and pamphlets dealing with the "finds" run into hundreds. "The literature on the Scrolls", wrote Professor Rowley in September 1957, "is so enormous that any full reference to the discussions on the various points is impossible". [1] Whether or not there has been much reference in this accumulation to possible contacts in thought or diction as between Qumrān and the Qur'ān, which of course must mean the contemporary Arabian scene at the rise of Islam, is an equally unknown factor for the paragraphs that follow. In six or seven books that have been read, whether by Jewish, Christian or secular writers, (some books with indexes, some without) there would not appear to occur very much in the nature of cross-references to Islamic beginnings. [2] This is equally true of pamphlets and articles, including that in Arabic by Dr Anis Frayha, whose discussion appears in the annual publication of essays by Near Eastern scholars, Egyptian and Lebanese. [3] It may be that it is still too early to look for anything definite or constructive. This must wait till the more important Qumrān documents have been translated into Arabic. Even the "Zadokite Work" from the Cairo Genizah, though known to western learning for half a century, has not yet been done into Arabic.

It may, therefore, be considered somewhat presumptuous at this stage to suggest possible affinities between the ideas of this monastic or largely monastic Dead Sea Community, now fairly certainly dated in the era immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian Dispensation, and the Semitic developments in Northern Arabia half a millennium and more later. Yet there can be little doubt that some time before Islam the knowledge of Old Testament personalities, accruing from Arabian contacts with the Jewish settlements in Yathrib, Khaibar and elsewhere, would have been substantiated by the merchants who frequented the Great Incense Road on their travels from the Ḥijāz or Ḥaḍramaut *en route* for Egyptian Temples or eastern Mediterranean ports. Such merchants would become doubly familiar with the story of Lot and the cities of the Plain — after all the Dead Sea is still known by Arabic-speaking people as Baḥr Lūt. The Qur'ān has some twenty-five verses in which Lot is mentioned, including those in Surat Hūd — a Surah which deals with the attitude and fate of unbelievers in familiar Near Eastern localities. The discovery too of

---

[1] Bulletin of the John Rylands Library: 40. 1. 114.

[2] For the only one (so far) Gaster: *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect* 105, Note 30.

[3] Vol. 58 ff.

Abraham and Ishmael in pre-Islamic times, in some sense must have helped to pave the way for the importance the pair came to occupy in the unfolding religion, as in its two monotheistic precursors. Furthermore we have come to recognise an affinity, through this relationship, in the ideas and even canonical pronouncements of the Prophet, enshrined in the Qurʾān, which are today the treasured inheritance of so many millions across the heat-belt of our world.

There is surely ample research, in this field of possible affinity between the Qurʾān and Qumrān, awaiting doctoral theses for the rest of this century. More important, it should also provide scope for sorely needed co-operative effort amongst Jewish, Muslim and Christian scholars. For an enquiry of this nature, the student will be absolved from the consideration of questions involving the identification of personalities, whether Kittians, Wicked Priests or different Messiahs. The research should only be directed towards common ideas and the forms in which they are clothed. Without being more imaginative, may it be permitted here merely to touch the fringe of this subject of tentative comparisons between Qumrān and the Qurʾān. Their general Semitic outlook would seem to invite closer investigation. It is for affinities, not for Quranic dependence on or borrowings from Qumrān, that we are looking. As there are similarities in thought and language between Qumrān and the New Testament, these may also be found, if less distinctly, when adopted or adapted by Muḥammad.

A. "THE ANGEL OF TRUTH".

In the *Manual of Discipline* there is allusion to the "spirits of truth and error," followed by a reference to the "angel of darkness" and all the spirits of his lot," who try to make the sons of light stumble; but "the God of Israel and His *angel of Truth* have helped all the sons of light." [4] If here there is some linguistic resemblance to the Johannine expression: — "By this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error," attention must also be called to the phrase "His angel of truth." Both Stephen and Paul make reference to the service rendered by angels in the giving of the Law. "Ye who received law by the disposition of angels and have not kept it." [5] "The law was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator." [6] What is plural in the New Testament, however, becomes singular in the Qurʾān. It is true that in the Meccan Surahs(as Dr. Watt and others have pointed out [7]) there is no reference to Gabriel, though the revelations during that period were mediated through Gabriel, since this archangel is generally regarded in Islam as the channel of inspiration. He is refer-

---

[4] Gaster *op. cit.* 53. Cf. Millar Burrows: *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* p. 261.
[5] Acts vii.53.
[6] Gal iii.19.
[7] *Muhammad at Mecca*: p. 43 f.

red to as "the Spirit" along with angels in three Quranic contexts. [8] There is the expression in Sūrah liii. شَدِيدُ الْقُوَى,[9] as one who taught the revelation. Is it possible that, in the traditional account of the experiences of the Prophet at Mount Hirā', the phrase "the Truth came to him," with the "annunciation" that he was the Messenger of God, *could mean Gabriel,* comparing the statement in the *Manual of Discipline* concerning God's "angel of Truth."? It has often been suggested that, as his career progressed, Muḥammad seems to have ceased differentiating between Gabriel and the Holy Spirit. There would appear a somewhat similar confusion between the "Angel of Truth" and the "Spirit" in the Scroll. Anyhow we are confronted by people in the same circle of ideas; while in assessment the *Manual* is nearer to the agent in *Inspiritation* according to Quranic presentation than it is to the allusions in the New Testament. But there is a further point of affinity in the word for "Truth" which occurs so frequently in the scrolls and which is used (according to Dr Gaster) "in the specific sense of the Mosaic Law." [10] Gaster says the Samaritans refer to this as *Qushta* or "the Verity". The sisterword in Arabic الْقِسْط is the one employed in the passage in Ibn Hishām, where the biographer gives a version of the closing verses of S. John xv where our Lord is quoted as using the phrase روح الْقِسْط — "Spirit of Truth" or perhaps "Justice" or "Equity." ("Justice" is how Arberry renders the word in his translation of the fourteen occurrences in the Qur'ān). [12] القسط and القدس are not dissimilar in sound.

B. "THE FRIEND OF GOD".

Abraham in the Islamic form of Ibrahīm, probably occurs more often in the Qur'ān (69 times) than the name of any other character. [13] In Surat al-Nisā' he is described in the same way as in the Epistle of S. James [14] as "the Friend of God" (خليل الله) the phrase coming at the conclusion of a description of the well-doer:

> "Who is there that has a fairer religion
> Than he who submits his will to God
> Being a good doer, and who follows

[8] Surahs lxx.4, xcvii.4, (xvi.2).
[9] Surah liii.5.
[10] Op. cit. p. 103.
[11] See *The Muslim World* Oct. 1951, pp. 251-256.
[12] E.g. Surah iii.18, 21.
[13] Jeffery: *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān,* pp. 44-46.
[14] James ii.23.

> The Creed of Abraham, a man of pure faith?
> And God took Abraham for a friend". [15]

Thus the Qurʾān; while the *Zadokite Document* states:

> "Abraham, however, did not walk in this way (that of the sons of Noah who went astray). Therefore because he kept the commandments of God and did not prefer the desires of his own spirit, he was accounted the Friend of God and transmitted this status in turn to Isaac and Jacob." [16]

The word translated "Creed" by Arberry, is ملّة, which has come to include much more than belief — it was more than this that Abraham transmitted to his posterity. There is an echo of this "cultural continuance" of the ملّة in Joseph's remark to the imprisoned baker and butler — that he was a follower of the ملّة of his fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. [17] One way or another, Qumrān and Qurʾān recognise, with St. Paul, those who walk in the steps — follow the ملّة of our Father Abraham, the steps of that faith which he had in uncircumcision. [18]

C. "RIGHTEOUSNESS".

One thing leads on to another. With Abraham the whole relevance of "righteousness" and "piety" — بِرّ and تَقْوَى — is involved. While it is true that the adjective بَرّ only occurs three times in the Qur'ān — of God where it is rendered "benign" or "beneficent," and of Yaḥyā and ʿĪsā, when it is usually translated "dutiful", there are two occasions where the corresponding verb appears, in each case in company with another from a sister-root. [19] The context is implicative of an attitude to life and society. There are references too to the abstract noun: "Help one another in piety and godliness." "Conspire not in sin and enmity ... but conspire in piety and godliness."

The prayer towards the close of Surat Āl-Imrān: "O Lord, forgive Thou our sins and acquit us of our evil deeds, and take us to Thee with the pious," [20] has the same kind of ring about it as the request

---

[15] Arberry Vol. 1: p. 119.
[16] Gaster op. cit. p. 73.
[17] Surah xii.38.
[18] Rom. iv.12.
[19] Surah ii.224, lx.8.
[20] Arberry Vol. I. p. 98.

put into the mouth of Balaam the son of Beor: "Lord let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." [21] There is no need to labour the Old Testament emphasis on this characteristic, particularly in the Psalms and Proverbs, or the Pauline interpretation of righteousness in respect of Abraham, the paragon of piety for the three monotheistic faiths. But the issue is that, when the time comes for a fresh examination of the relationship of what is being called "Biblical Theology" with that of the Qur'ān, the Dead Sea Scrolls must not be left out in the caves of the wilderness of Judaea. One of the early adjudications of Dr. Brownlee, quoted by Professor Millar Burrows, has relevance in this connection — "The Sect had its birth in Biblical interpretation." [22]

> "Even those who practice righteousness are made liable to error."
> "All the ways of righteousness and truth."
> "A zeal for righteous government."
> "If a man casts his portion with truth, he does righteously."

Thus the *Manual,* where it is also stated that the duty of the Community shall be "to set the standard for the practice of truth, righteousness and justice." This is taken up again in the *Zadokite Document,* the moralising being based on the words of Moses: "Not for thy righteousness nor for the uprightness of thy heart art thou going in to possess these nations, but because of His love wherewith He loved thy fore-fathers and because He would keep the oath." [23]

For the inheritance of the ancestral covenant applied to those who entered the "new covenant in the Land of Damascus;" but for those who lapsed from the proper observance of the rules there would be the visitation of Divine judgement. But when they have repented "they shall speak each to his neighbour to bring him to righteousness..." "Then shall ye distinguish (again) the righteous from the wicked".

Similarly the formula for the blessing of the President of the Community whom God "has appointed to judge the needy in righteousness." The *Book of Hymns* breathes much the same atmosphere: "For none can prove himself righteous when Thou bringest him into judgment. Though man may prove more righteous than man, none can contend (with "Thee".) [24]

There is the same milieu of ideas, the same Semitic outlook. When even in these days there is in the Near East evidence of the inherent Semitic sense of the meaning of justice, piety and righteousness, pervading a sequence of thought through the centuries, we should surely recognise an affinity derived from a shared ancestry; though at different stages the fuller implications, as we might acknowledge them in

---

[21] Numbers xxlii 10.
[22] Op. cit. p. 247.
[23] Op. cit p. 81.
[24] Gaster op. cit. p. 63. Cf. Millar Burrows op. cit. p. 407.

St Paul, may be reckoned insular or exclusive or undeveloped. The final verdict of the first Christians that their interest was not so much in a Teacher of Righteousness as in a Righteous Teacher *sui generis*, could never have reached Islamic thinkers in its simplicity or the Quranic doctrine of بِرّ would have approximated to the New Testament rather than Qumrān.

D. "ANCIENT SINNERS".

In the *Zadokite Document*, what leads to the discussion of "Millat Ibrahim" is the mention of the "Ancient sinners" who "fell" under the Divine wrath. Here is surely the correct Quranic tradition of later times. Interestingly there is natural reference to the contemporaries of Noah. For Qumrān those who went astray included members of his immediate family. This is again common ground with the Qurʾān, though a divergence is noticeable in the actual personalities who suffered from the cataclysm. [25] The previous notices of the "Watchers of Heaven" or "their sons whose height was like the lofty cedar" have their parallels in *ʿĀd and Thamūd*, so far as Arabian folklore is concerned. For Qumrān and the Qurʾān God's anger was kindled against such evil doers. Here the Dead Sea Scrolls would seem to emphasise the ultimate debt of much Islamic thinking to contemporary Arabian Judaism. When the Community was scattered by the Roman extirpation of so many thousands of Jews, it is tempting to suggest that some of the Qumrān adherents, rather than "members," may have found their way to the already established Jewish settlements in the Ḥijāz, to the permanent enrichment of the latter.

E. "QUMRĀN, THE QURʾĀN AND THE ANGELS".

Then there is the whole question of Comparative Angelology. Belief in the angels is fundamental in the Creed of Islam. [26] There are the Four Archangels, two of whom figure in the New Testament, and to one of these reference has already been made. On the whole, however, they do not figure in Christian thought as in Islamic and Qumranic. In the heavenly hierarchy in Islam, the Archangels are supplemented by the Guardian Angels, the Recording Angels, the "Throne Bearers"; while there is Ridwan in charge of Heaven; Malik who presides over Hell; Munkar and Nakīr, who visit the graves of the dead. There is some parallel here with scattered passages in the New Testament, the majority of the allusions (the Apocalypse apart) being perhaps to ministering angels. The more developed angelology of the Qurʾān is also found in the Scrolls. The *Manual of Discipline*, the *Za-*

[25] Gaster op cit. p. 73, 109 (note 11). The Qurʾān says Noah's Wife; see Hanauer: *Folklore of the Holy Land*, p. 13, 66.
[26] See e.g. Klein: *The Religion of Islam*, p. 65 f.

dokite Document, the *War Scroll* and the *Hymns* have a full quota of references to angelic beings. Gaster enumerates five groups, three of them with considerable sub-divisions. Besides the Archangels whom he designates "Protective," there are "Guardian Angels" (somewhat like the "Ministering"), and certain "Particular" angels possessed of special commissions. Then there are the angels described by another name — "Host of Heaven" or "of the Holy Ones," "Stalwarts" or "Glorious Ones;" and last, but not least, those who participate in the final eschatological War.[27] In this analysis there would appear some criss-crossing. But the total list is as impressive as that of Islam; while both Qumrān and Islām may be in debt to Persian thought. Millar Burrows in the "angelic" paragraphs in his chapter on Qumranic belief, notes a spiritual kinship with apocalyptic literature, agreeing that "sons of heaven" and "holy ones" are probably expressions that refer to angels.[28] In the *Manual of Discipline* he only finds one occasion where "angel" is used for a good spirit — "the angel of God's Truth." He refers, perhaps incidentally, to the curiously interesting coincidence with later Islamic history. The *War Scroll* tells how there are "holy angels with the army of the righteous." We cannot but be reminded of the Quranic account of the Battle of Badr, which probably more than any other was the "Hastings" of nascent Islam, and the "Bannockburn" of Arabian paganism! In Surat Āl-Imrān is the following allusion:

> "When thou wentest forth at dawn from thy people to lodge the believers in their pitches for the battle — God is All-hearing, All-knowing — when two parties of you were about to lose heart, though God was their Protector — and in God let all the believers put all their trust — and God most surely helped you at Badr, when you were utterly abject. So fear God, and haply you will be thankful. When thou saidst to the believers; 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord should reinforce you with three thousand angels sent down upon you? Yea, if you are patient and god-fearing, and the foe come against you instantly, your Lord will reinforce with five thousand swooping angels."[29]

Muḥammad was of course looking back to an event in recent history, and in part accounting for the Muslim victory. But the *War Scroll* is more interested in eschatological warfare:

> "Be of good courage for the battle of God; for this day has been determined as the day of battle — as the day of combat against all flesh. The God of Israel lifts up His hand with wondrous power against all the spirits of wickedness. And the Warrior angels gird themselves for battle; they are marshalled in serried ranks (and mustered for the day of combat)"[30]

Two of the Qumrāni hymns have something of the same conception:

---

[27] Op. cit. p. 316, 317.
[28] Op. cit. p. 261.
[29] Arberry, I p. 89.
[30] Gaster op. cit. p. 280.

"... the hosts of heaven give forth their voice, and the world's foundations rock and reel; when warfare waged by the soldiers of heaven sweeps through the world." [31]
"His legions shall go marching from end to end of the earth".

Or once again in the War Scroll:

"Warrior angels are in our muster". [32]

There is one difference in this attitude to angels as between the Qumrān sectaries and some at least of the more orthodox thinkers in Islam. The sectaries seem to have regarded the possibility of angels being sinful or good, much as in the Epistle of Jude. [33] The Qurʾān more over refers to two such, *Hārūt* and *Mārūt*, as well as to the refusal of *Iblīs* to worship Adam. In the latter case Al-Taftazānī (for instance) claims that *Iblīs* was the exception who proved the rule of angels being usually good. He was "a lone Jinnī inexperienced in worship in the midst of the angels."[34] *Hārūt* and *Mārūt* on their part were, in his view, "uncommitted" angels, neither responsible for unbelief nor guilty of a great sin. They were rebuked like the prophets for inadvertence; they may have taught people magic, but it is not unbelief to teach magic. They failed to appreciate the failings of human beings, so were sent to earth for their testing. This difference, if such it be, should not deter us from recognising some affinity in the general Quranic attitude to celestial beings with that of the Qumrān sectaries. Professor Jeffery says that Muslim authorities are unanimous in regarding ملاك as Arabic. But (he adds) there can be little doubt that the source of the word is Ethiopic, in which language the word bears the twin meanings of *angelus* and *nuntius*, thus making it correspond exactly with the Hebrew. His conclusion is that the "word seems to have been borrowed into Arabic long before the time of Muḥammad, for the Qurʾān assumes that Arabian audiences are well acquainted with angels and their powers, and the form indeed occurs in the North Arabian Inscriptions." [35] There seems enough affinity in the Qumranic and Quranic systems of angelology to suggest the need for more detailed investigation.

F. "FIGHTING IN GOD'S WAY".

The Eschatological War naturally invites comparison with the Quranic conception of the ideals and purposes of *Jihād*. The very title awarded to the Scroll of the "War of the Sons of Light with the Sons

---

[31] Ibid. p. 143 et passim.
[32] Ibid. p. 143 et passim.
[33] Verse 6.
[34] Elder: *Commentary of Al-Taftazānī*, pp. 134, 135.
[35] Jeffery op. cit. p. 269 ff.

of Darkness" brings to mind the "great divide" in early Islam, when the world around was either "*Dār al-Islam* or *Dār al-Ḥarb.*" [36] It is true that the *War Scroll,* as it progresses, seems to visualise the consummation of the world. But at the start there is direction for the extermination of opposing nations. There is a sequence in campaigning, a full nineteen years being devoted to warring against Near Easterners from Syria to Persia, from Lydia to Southern Arabia. It is quite obvious who, respectively, are sons of light and sons of darkness. [37] It is just as obvious who belong to *Dār al-Islām* and who to *Dār al-Ḥarb.* For the *War Scroll* the inscriptions on the standards are proof enough. The warriors are to be "felling the slain to the jugdment of God" or "subduing the enemy" by His might: or through pursuit to annihilate him in the Battle of God unto his eternal extinction,

> "Thou art He that told us aforetime that Thou wouldst be in our midst, a great and awful God to make spoil of our enemies before us... Your God is marching with you to do battle for you against your foemen to the end that He may save you." [38]

Though in the same Semitic realm of ideas, there are differences to note in this call to *Jihād.* For the Qumrāni and the Muslim alike *Jihād* was incumbent on the nation rather than the individual as such; but for the Muslim the extermination of opposing forces would not seem to have been primary; since the main object was winning these opponents over to Islam. The Qur'ān can speak for itself: "The believers fight in the way of God, the unbelievers fight in the idols' way. Fight you, therefore, against the friends of Satan; surely the guile of Satan is ever feeble." [39]

There was probably not much to choose between Satan and Belial. The Qumrāni, however, rather tended to regard his case as resting for justification on the past, something to which the first Muslims could hardly refer. Albeit it is a Semitic tendency to which later generations have too easily succumbed. Instead in the Qur'ān the believer is urged to participation in *Jihād* by current considerations and future rewards for himself and others. The purpose is the spread of Islam. "And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you, but aggress not: for God loves not the aggressors." [40] Here however, we come against a contradiction with the famous verses at the outset of Surah ix.

> "A proclamation from God and His messenger unto mankind on the day of the Greater Pilgrimage: 'God is quit, and His messenger, of the idolaters.' So if you repent that will be better for you; but if you turn your back; know that you cannot frustrate the Will of God. And give thou good tidings to

---

[36] Klein op. cit. p. 173 ff.
[37] Gaster op. cit., p. 261-2.
[38] Ibid. p. 272-3.
[39] Surah iv, 16.
[40] Arberry Vol. I. p. 57.

> the unbelievers of a painful chastisement: excepting those of the idolaters with whom you made covenant; then they failed you nought neither lent support to any man against you. With them fulfil your covenant till their term; surely God loves the God-fearing. Then when the sacred months are drawn away, slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them and confine them, and lie in wait for them at every place of ambush ..." [41]

These opening phrases are, as it were, in the best tradition of *Jihād,* an echo of the trumpets of carnage and the trumpets of ambush in the battles waged against the troops of Belial, when the Qumrānī would probably have refused quarter to the repentant, unlike the Quranic reservation. Then comes the paradox. The Sectarians visualised a campaign of twenty-nine years or more, after six for mobilisation, but every seventh year the recruitment of fresh soldiery is to cease and the sabbatical rest for Israel be observed. If in this latter phenomenon there is some parallel with the pre-Islamic custom prevalent in Arabia of maintaining guerilla warfare two-thirds of the year — with the remaining four months reckoned "sacred," when fighting was banned — the parallel is with a ruling which the Qurʾān abrogated. The Qumranic prohibition was Semitic but not Quranic. There came a time when the أشهر الحرم would have to be disregarded. This verse in Surat al-Taubah was probably first invoked when Abū Bakr was faced with the reconquest of recalcitrant tribes, who were threatening to relapse into darkness after being sons of Light. For his Khalīfah, as for the Prophet, *Jihād* had become a matter of military necessity; for the Qumrāni down by the Dead Sea wastes, the extermination of the ancient enemies, starting with Edom, Moab and Ammon, just across the Sea of Lot, can never have reached much beyond the range of wishful thinking. There were always more Kittians in expanding circles. The Muslims in real life were to discover this as the 7th century merged into the 8th and *Jihād* itself took a different turn.

G. "THE PROPHET".

About two thirds of the way through the *War Scroll,* before the Highpriestly Benediction, there is inset a hymn, looking forward to the consummation of the Campaign, when Jerusalem shall have come into her own again. The verses have a Messianic ring about them. [42] One of the Dead Sea Scroll discussions has centered round the Messianic idea or ideal. The general consensus of opinion points to "Messiah" having been capable of both political and religious connotation — for both king and priest were anointed. Professor Bruce has pointed out that the New Testament with the addition of "Prophet" attributes the combination of the three titles with their implications to Jesus Christ. It is, however, the "Prophet" *per se,* that constitutes a parallel with

[41] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 207.
[42] Gaster op. cit. p. 276.

Quranic thinking.[43] Qumrān would appear to have some light to throw on a controversy of important identification, involving Judaism, Christianity and Samaritanism as well as Islam. The *Manual of Discipline* or *Rule of the Community* (Bruce) has the very vital sentence that "until the coming of the Prophet and of both the Priestly and Lay Messiah" the Community "is not to depart from the clear intent of the Law to walk in any way in the stubbornness of their own hearts." So far as the Qur'ān and the "use" of "Messiah" is concerned, there is little doubt that Muḥammad neither regarded المسيح as anything else but an alternate way of referring to Jesus — sometimes uniting the words in a single phrase as in the New Testament and throughout Christian history — nor did he ever suggest himself as being Messiah of the Jews (in Arabia). If Qumrān was satisfied with two Messiahs, respectively Aaronic and Davidic, (Israelite), Muḥammad lived at a period in Near Eastern history when the Christian evangelistic conviction that Jesus was proved the only Messiah had been accepted as decisive — had in point of fact become part of the normal way of alluding to Him. But it was not quite the same with regard to the term "Prophet." Muḥammad's claim was that God had sent him with a message to the Arabs. Added to this was a confident assurance that the Jewish Scriptures supported his "prophethood" through a fresh application of the text in Deuteronomy, which had proved so controversial in the early days of Christianity, being quoted both by Peter and Stephen: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee".[44]

This quotation has turned up again in the fragment from Cave 4, which seems to be a list of proof texts for the Messianic era.[45] Starting with this quotation from the Lord's word to Moses dealing with the "prophet" like him, the subsequent "proof-text" is from Balaam's prophecy of the "Star of Jacob." Here the implication is of the *military* prowess of the king, who "would smite the brow of Moab." The third consists of the Mosaic blessing of Levi, and is consequently *priestly* in character. These three traits are united according to Christian interpretation in the Person of Christ. Whether or not prophets were regularly anointed, (as seems inferentially likely from the use of the Isaiah passage by Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth) the two more Messianic qualities merge in sublimation when used of Jesus as the *Christ*. This Christian nomenclature would seem to have established itself in pre-Islamic Arabia, despite any meaning that the Jewish settlements in contact with Muḥammad may have given the term. The Messenger of God in Arabia made no attempt to prove any "Messianic" connection with himself; but he does not seem to have realised that for Christian tribes, taking for granted the use of المسيح, "Prophet-

[43] *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls,* pp. 77 ff.
[44] Deut. xviii.18, 19.
[45] Bruce, op. cit. ad. loc. Gaster op. cit. p. 353-4.

hood" *par excellence* was as much wrapped up in the Person of Jesus as the other two more generally conceded qualities of Messiahship. But presumably, Jewish thought in Arabia remained as pigeonholed as in Qumrān, or as in the relevant parts of the Old Testament as interpreted by Judaeans or Samaritans. Muḥammad was in consequence, then, enabled to regard himself as "the Prophet," whom in accordance with Mosaic expectation Jahveh would "raise." To this the Samaritan passage mentioned in St. John iv lends considerable support. Qumrān certainly left the loop-hole open. There is no parallel in the Quranic use of "Messiah" with that of Qumrān. There is a parallel in the construction put on the Deuteronomic context in Qumrān and the Qurʾān. "The Prophet was raised" wistfully for the Qumrānī, factually for the Muslim.

H. "WHAT ABOUT ISRAEL?".

There is still another point in this context which brings the Qumrān sectarians up to date; while there are passages in the Qurʾān which come to much the same thing. It has been noted, as by Millar Burrows, that the Royal Messiah was normally expected to arise from the tribe of Judah, as in the Matthean explication of Micah in the Nativity story. This was also in conformity with the prophecy of Balaam, who like Micah after him associates this question of royal rule with "Israel" rather than Judah.[46] It would appear that *Israel* is employed in this Qumranic list of proof-texts in its more comprehensive connotation, as in the mocking of the priests at the time of the Crucifixion. "Let Christ (Messiah) the King of Israel come down from the Cross."[47] There are more than forty occurrences of *Israel* in the Qurʾān (two of them being alternate to "Jacob"). Jeffery contends for a Christian origin for the name — probably Syriac.[48] This might mean that Muḥammad regarded the "Banū Isrāʾīl" as the ancestors of the Jews (Yahūd) in a sense wider than that of pure consanguinity. It was from the Jews of his time that he gathered his information with regard to past; they were the representatives of Israel spiritually and historically. "Israel" is about as synonymous for "Jews" as "Messiah" for "Jesus." If the identification of the "Prophet" is still a moot point as between the followers of the three monotheistic faiths, there remains the resuscitated question as to the real meaning of "Israel" today — is it geographical, political, spiritual or what? Can Qumrān and Qurʾān help to unravel the tangled skein of rival Semitic interpretations? The problem is not merely antiquarian.

---

[46] Numbers xxiv.15-17, Micah. v.2, Matt. ii.5.
[47] Mark xv.32.
[48] Op. cit. p. 60, 61.

I. "FRAGMENTS".

Throughout the literary material from the Dead Sea Caves so far made available, there is scattered phraseology of a Semitic nature reminiscent of similar phraseology in the Qur'ān — though there may be a somewhat different slant in some cases. If we leave the respective references to Gog to modern commentary (whether in Ezekiel, Qumrān, Apocalypse or the Qur'ān) there are detailed similarities more rewarding that bespeak a common background. The "Most High God" in the Seventh Thanksgiving Psalm is equally Semitic as El-Elyon on the lips of Old Testament worthies and as Allāhu Ta'ālā in Quranic Arabia or even the modern Near East. Qumrāni and Muslim are equally emphatic on the prerogative of Divine Creation. "It is He that hath made us and we are His" is Quranic and Qumranic. There is the repeated emphasis on the equally Divine prerogative of "mercy." The use of the term "Blessed" in respect of God comes into the same category. Qumrān and 'Arafāt unite in a chorus of "praise to the Holiest in the height."

Both Scrolls and fragments imply the provenance and popularity of the work of Isaiah, a popularity substantiated in the Gospels, in particular the command to "prepare the way of the Lord in the wilderness." It was this Isaianic vision that was as responsible as anything else for the early prayer in Islam which came to occupy the place of preeminence at the outset of the Quranic Surahs. It was always difficult through thirty years in Palestine not to feel اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ had roots in the previous experience of Judaism and Christianity. For this pregnant phrase Gaster even suggests that "the Figure of the Teacher of Righteousness was the prototype for the Islamic development of the *Mahdī*" [49] — if so, it brings Qumrān to Omdurman in 19th century Africa. But being guided along the "straight path" mostly meant for the Qumrāni that study of the Law "that all things may be done in accordance with what is revealed therein". [50] For the Christian greater attention is paid to the fact that the wilderness is not out of date in the call to preparation for the teachings of Christ. The Muslim may feel that God alone can guide along this straight path and be inclined at times to "leave it at that."

But the common idea derives from an Old Covenanting Prophet who knew the highways and byways of his Palestine so well as to realise that it would give his world a picture of what was and what might be. After all this petition is the central plea of the Fātiḥah; and it would be entirely possible to rewrite this little Surah in Qumranic language with comparatively little change in wording. *Mutatis mutandis*

[49] Op. dit. p. 36.
[50] Manual of Discipline in the Rules of the Order. See Millar Burrows: op. cit. p. 382.

sentences in the closing paragraphs of Millar Burrows' chapter on the beliefs of the Dead Sea Sectaries might well stand as true of much of the attitude to life and thought bequeathed by the Qurʾān to the immediate followers of Muḥammad in the 7th century.

Here in future "Elysian Fields" are possible parallels between Pharisaic, Qumranic and Quranic conceptions of the Resurrection of the Body. Here too we note the same heedless way in which Divine warnings were disregarded by those of ancient times. But more, both Dead Sea and Desert alike inculcated or emphasised a domestic and personal involvement.

> "Unlike most other Jewish groups" the Qumrān sectaries "even believed that they had been granted a new revelation that made clear the true meaning of the Scripture. In the prophets they found their own past and future prefigured ... They believed that all things were ordained of God. Even the existence of evil and the struggle between good and evil in human society and in the individual soul were part and parcel of the divine plan. At the end of the appointed time God would deliver His elect and destroy the hosts of wickedness. ... The Covenanters firmly believed that they were God's elect, not only as members of the chosen people but also individually as sons of light, the men of God's lot ... They confidently expected the judgment and eternal punishment of the sons of darkness ... they fervently hoped to enjoy eternal felicity in the presence of God ..." [51]

May it not be that there is enough affinity here between Qumrān and the Quranic scheme of life and death, to warrant further research into the comparative thinking of the Desert and the Dead Sea? Writers who deal with this growingly vast subject, refer to the 10th century Qaraite, Al-Qirqisānī, who, among others before and after him, mentions a cave-sect, so named because their literature came to light in a cave — hence the Arabic form "Maghārians." There are reasons for thinking that these "Adullamites" might be the Qumrānis, flowering each side of the Christian era. If Jewish and Christian scholars in diverse languages have been contrasting and comparing the tenets of these Maghārians with contemporary Judaism, or examining the relationship of their thought-forms with New Testament literary expression, we must ask Islamic scholarship as well to make research into the treasures hid within the caves.

Redhill, Surrey, England. ERIC F. F. BISHOP

[51] Op. cit. p. 271-2.

WEST AFRICAN CATECHISM

"Why did God provide for the rescue of Isaac on Mount Moriah and not for His Son Jesus at Calvary?" It was a Christian Training College at Iwo, Western Nigeria, and a fair enough question. Though the answer was not far to seek, all the circumstances connected with the two situations being what they were, the question had not in fact turned up anywhere else before that occasion. No doubt the questioner, surrounded by a faith that vigorously repudiates the idea that Jesus was allowed to suffer, wondered whether there might not be some ground for this disclaimer in the evident solicitude of God for the survival of Isaac. There was both thoughtfulness and perplexity in his query — a combination that was reproduced elsewhere during a twelve week exposure to African interrogatives, in the course of a longish journey through Sierra Leone, Ghana and Western and Northern Nigeria. Travellers are well advised to refrain from critical appraisals on the basis of so brief a sojourn. The value of travelogues tends rather to diminish in proportion as the ease of travel grows. The present paragraphs do not presume to assess West Africa.

There may, however, be some justification for trying to set down the questions one was asked. An analysis of the interrogatives he met need not argue any presumption on the part of the traveller, always on condition, of course, that he indicates the general limits of his own concerns. For clearly the questions he meets with will largely be determined by the kind of interests he brings and the sort of concern he represents. Queries about Isaac and Jesus are not likely to be provoked by inquisitive journalists searching for 'copy'. The purpose of this journey was the discovery of West African Islam and of the actual pattern of Muslim-Christian relations in a part of the world where, being Africa, they could be assumed to be somewhat novel and disconcertingly different. The aim also was to serve the utmost possible wisdom and imagination in such relationships and to seek the conforming of the Church's concepts of Islam to the mind and spirit of Christ. A large number of sessions were held in Lagos, Ibadan, Iwo, Ogbomosho, Kaduna, Zaria, Jos, Achimota, Kumasi, Tamale, Freetown, Port Lokko and elsewhere—in schools, Universities, Churches, clubs, Muslim societies and conferences. There were wholly Christian audiences where interior problems of Christian theology or society, vis-à-vis Islam, were discussed and debated. There were sessions on the corollaries of Islam for Christian theological education and on the Christian pastor's relations with his Muslim neighbours, including not least his responsibility to ensure a wise and restrained service of the Gospel in the considerable newspaper controversy that exists over religion in parts of the West African world. There were also occasions in which wholly Muslim groups sat down to exchange of thoughts and views with a visiting Christian, and that in the utmost courtesy and

kindliness. There were times when classical Arabic was the medium of these meetings, for, though in general Arabic is little known in Muslim circles in West Africa, some Nigerians and Sierra Leoneans speak it impeccably. Here and there one encounters a former pilgrim to Mecca, or, possibly in Northern Nigeria, a shaikh or ʿalīm who has migrated across the Sahara from academies like the Qairawīn at Fez in Morocco. There is a certain indefinable pleasure about those occasions coupled with an irresistible feeling of Muslim satisfaction that some fleeting visitor, from an outlandish western world, has at least in common with an African Muslim the language of the Holy Book. Perhaps the most notable such occasion was in Tamale, in the Northern Territories of Ghana, where daylong search disclosed nobody speaking Arabic, save the numerous Lebanese or Syrian storekeepers, who abound in West Africa but, of course, do not speak for it. But at length, in late afternoon and seemingly by chance, a native Ghanaian Muslim came to light, running a small, voluntary Arabic school on the outskirts of the town. He made it clear that not only his competence but his enthusiasm derived in large measure from his experience on pilgrimage.

At other times the occasions of the catechism came in joint Muslim-Christian sessions, sometimes presided over by Muslim leaders. There were none such in Northern Nigeria, where the slender nature of the Christian minority and the strong political dominance of Islam give a certain precariousness to religious relationships and seem to preclude genuine openness. In Western Nigeria, however, where numbers are more balanced, there is, at least in some quarters, a surprising degree of Muslim-Christian interpenetration, both socially and educationally. Prominent Muslim persons or families enjoy what seem to be quite uninhibited connections with Christians and in some cases different individuals in the one family belong to differing faiths with a mutual respect and tolerance that would be almost inconceivable in the heartlands of the Muslim world, where family solidarity in Islam (or its counterpart—the incompatibility of blood itself with 'apostacy') has been a bitter and a persistent fact of the situation. The degree of this inter-religious fraternity may be measured by a question that emerged in a session with a group of mainly Muslim schoolgirls in Sierra Leone, one of whom enquired as to the propriety of Muslims being invited to stand as sponsors in Christian baptism. The answer was not difficult to formulate. What was interesting was the very possibility, and the evident fact that it was by no means isolated phenomenon. There must obviously be great social and personal fraternity between Muslims and Christians when the latter can freely invite the former to "confess the faith of Christ crucified" in the name of a child, and the former can willingly accept. It may, of course, be simply that courtesies, both given and received, override religious meanings or scruples. But if so—this, too, is no more than a measure of what is uniquely African in African religion.

The situation, so contrasted with Muslim areas of intense communal solidarity in Islam and consequent sharp antipathy to Christian elements (which like Greeks or Armenians in Turkey are generally thought of as outside the nationality), creates many intriguing problems. There are some who revel in this freeness of intercourse and relish its implicit devaluation of religious, doctrinal divergence. Religions are fundamentally one and to insist on any ultimate significance in doctrinal difference is to imperil social unity and disturb a sleeping harmony. Dogma, in any case, has only 'interior' validity and it is crass foolishness to bring it divisively into exterior relation. When that atmosphere prevails the concept of witness — and with it probably the whole dimension of devotional sincerity—are obviously imperilled. Yet there can be such unloveliness about religious communalism, and it can threaten so many social evils, that the generous and sober minded may be forgiven in wishing it for ever away. There is, therefore, a great need for a discerning Christian trusteeship of Christ which can undertake an irenic and yet loyal witness to the meaning of the Gospel, without capitulating either to easy neglect of truth or to assertive and alienating advocacy of it.

Another feature of the West African situation which gives a 'commonness' to Muslim-Christian setting is the fact of superstition. Numerous questions related to the validity of charms, tabus, *barakah* and the consistency of such practices with the pure meanings of either faith. It was evident that Muslims were frequently regarded by Christians as having peculiar potential or aptitude for efficacious superstitions. "Why do so many Christians seek help of Muslims when in trouble, asking them for a charm or a talisman?" (Lagos) "Do Muslims really have powers over evil and misfortune that Christians do not possess?" (Ibadan) There was no doubt that these questions and similar ones came out of the very soul of the situation. Here perhaps we may most truly borrow words once used in commentary on the great questions of St John's Gospel, Chapter xiv, though they are also apposite to every aspects of this catechism.

> "Every questioner is concentrically manifold, self within self, and the question that alone he is able to present in words is but a rude symbol of the question in his mind, as this again is but a rude symbol of the whole search within." [1]

The Church has traditionally sought to banisch superstitious practices as being incompatible with the freedom of the sons of God. "But the sea is so wide and man's boat is so small." There is the pressure, not only of fear in emergency but of the watching community that is liable to interpret refusal of charms as callousness. So many a dubious Christian is persuaded to try the charmer with perhaps a sense of evil doing and yet a reliance on the great God's wide compassion and maybe also

[1] F. J. A. Hort, *The Way, the Truth and the Life,* London, 1897, p. 4.

an inarticulate conviction that a whole ancestry of timeless animism cannot be in the wrong. The Church does well not to underestimate the degree to which a whole culture can survive and persist, furtively perhaps but desperately, within or beneath a transaction of individual conversion. We need, indeed, very much deeper and more patient concepts of what conversion is and means.

So the tortured Christian individual turns to the uninhibited Muslim, while the battle of Christian confidence in God through Christ goes on relentlessly in an uncounted host of just such personal decisions. Popularly unconcerned about the compromises of its own dogma in such practice, Islam in West Africa is only too happy to reap the popular fruits of Quranic charms and to enjoy the reputation of an efficacious thing. "Do Muslims really have a power we Christians lack to avert disease or fructify marriage, or thwart the evil eye?" Do they? Here the disqualification of the Church is its very glory. The task of the ministry is to build up in the soul the sense of the immediacy and the availability of God Himself, as Shepherd and Seeker, as Father and Friend, until that sense of our preciousness to Him and His adequacy to us disqualifies all this host of pseudo-religious improvisations that cumber the path of faith, diversify the single trust and alienate the soul from its true and splendid home in the love of God.

It may be apposite at this point to refer by way of contrast to a simple catechism, or cluster of questions, not received, but given. For all interrogatives to be alive must be mutual. So it was that in numerous places one's Muslim friends and acquaintances were invited to explain the consistency of their charms and charming with their announced faith in the sole Godness of God. One such friendly exchange in the house of the Chief Imām of Ibadan must suffice to illustrate the rest. "Why do Muslim Nigerians use charms and protective devices, drinking for protection the water that has washed the sacred Qurʾān from the slate in school, or wearing a paper scroll on which an *Āyat* is inscribed?" "Do these agencies have a power other than the power of God?" "If so, what has become of the truth that He alone is our protector and that حَسْبُنَا اللهُ that our sufficiency is of Him.?" "If not, why bother to use them?" "Or if we think that God is protecting us by these devices on which we choose to rely, do we suppose Him in need of their help?". "Does not the Qurʾān describe the Muslim as 'He who fears only God'?" "Why then do we fear these sprites and jinns and evil powers?" "Does not the Qurʾān teach us that only God is to be feared and that other 'gods' are non-entities?" "Are non-entities, then nevertheless, rightly to be feared!" "Are we to use the Holy Book to protect us against something which that Book assures us does not exist and is not to be feared?"

Some interesting similes were invoked in reply. "Does not God give us skin and hair, yet He also permits us to protect ourselves a-

gainst wind and rain with clothes and hats? Our use of such protection does not imply that He has failed. Moreover, do we not live in houses? These shield us from the elements. But it is not atheist to have a house. On the contrary, God preserves the building which protects us. Likewise our charms: they are a protection which God blesses and permits us to employ." These responses still left it an open question whether superstition was not *Shirk*, whether Muslim superstition, that is, was not basically unIslamic. For certainly in the popular mind, these intimate reliances of the soul are closer and more meaningful than God in Heaven and in that sense, and to that degree, have replaced Him. But the answers quite failed to take the measure of their proper range. Devotion as so often elsewhere, in time and place, goes on in blissful unconcern about the consistencies of theology. It would appear that at least in this context the Christian ineptitude at being superstitious (and the Christians' consequent recourse to the robuster occultism of the Muslim) represents a deeper devotional struggle in the African context for a genuine spiritual monotheism than is evident in popular Islam. But by the same token it would seem that the Christian Churches have great need of relating faith to fear more imaginatively and expressively than is achieved in a simple repudiation of the superstitious.

In line with this apparent popular 'success' of Islam were other features, evident in the catechism, in which many Christians felt themselves at a disadvantage vis-à-vis Islam. One realm of this which many questions concerned was the instinctive Muslim attitude of throwing back on Christianity all responsibility for difference. At a Muslim Association in Freetown it was evidently thought that the whole onus was on Christianity for the disparities. It is not Islam which is deviationist: the Church and the Gospel are. Islam postdates them and the more new is the more right. This attitude lay behind many Muslim queries. In Zaria, for example, a teacher contrasted sharply between Muslim education in its veneration for ʿĪsā and Christian education in its allegedly negative or negligent attitudes towards the Prophet of Islam. If Muslims deeply revere the central figure of Christian faith, why cannot the latter reciprocate? It takes some patience and pains to show that the Muslim veneration for the person of Jesus is further away from what Christian faith would seek than a respectful Christian estimate of Muḥammad is from the full Muslim view.

Also in some Christian circles there was evident mystification about the downrightness of Quranic claims. "Do the Muslims really have a book which was sent down to them from Heaven?" The Christian concept of the Incarnate Word and the Book of enabled authorship describing and expressing Him to all time is much less immediately impressive to the simple mind than the idea of a 'descented' Book. In this respect, questions also illustrated the fact that an alien and unknown language is no barrier to religious awe, but may well be a

means to it. Christian Churches, with their compassion for native languages (itself a corollary of faith in the Incarnation), have laboured long and arduously to give at least portions of the Bible in the local tongues. It might have been thought that with growing national consciousness and literacy this aspect of Christian instinct would have reaped rich results. However, the general Muslim indifference to translation leaves the uninitiated with the mysterious, and thereby surely efficacious, words of unintelligible Arabic. Hence it was that many questioners either sought means to overcome this problem or wondered aloud about its merits.

The Aḥmadiyyah Movements in West Africa have, it is true, endeavoured to make Islam more intelligible. They have for example printed parts of Surat al-Baqarah in parallel columns, Arabic and Fante, for use in Kumasi and have also circulated manuals about Ṣalāt in the Twi language. But this is exceptional. For the most part the very unknownness of Arabic proves a popular incentive to the credence of Islam. This phenomenon also produced thoughtful questions about the appropriateness of Christian relations to Islam based upon intelligent and positive appreciation of its meanings. For, if these meanings are not intelligible to the vast majority of West African Muslims in their fulness, there is little point in basing ourselves upon them as a condition of ministry in Christ. It is almost as if the patterns of Islam prevent the Church, in the effort after relationship, from being positive. Or in the words of one questioner: "Must we Christians not first expect a sharpened consciousness over against Islam, before we can win through to a positive communication?"

Here is a difficult issue. There is, of course, little profit in trying hard to move sympathetically from Quranic thoughts if these are a closed book to the Muslim individual. "I seek refuge with God", in all its eloquent implications in the Two Refuge Seekers, (Al Muʿawidhdhatān) (Surahs cxiii and cxiv) makes scant impact upon Quranic reciters who do not understand the words. Two young Muslim schoolteachers in a Muslim village near the northern border of Western Nigeria were unable to explain the meaning of the Fātiḥah. It is difficult in such circumstances to see how a positive Christian concern for Islamics can attract more than the farsighted. Yet it would be folly for the Christian Church to neglect the deeper reaches of Islamic heritage on the plea that the average Muslim is himself unaware of them. Nor need there be any fear that by seeking the fullest patterns of relationship the Church would, as one questioner put it, "be making Muslims more self-consciously Muslim and so more resistant to Christianity". "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again" remains the spiritual principle of all Christian trusteeship of truth. If we would in the end bespeak an adequate Muslim awareness of Christ we must essay an adequate Christian awareness of Islam, even if it means going ourselves, and perhaps taking the Muslim

also, far beyond the actual quality of Muslim knowledge of Islam as it obtains in the context.

It is, moreover, important to remember that there will be wide repercussions in the whole of West African Islam as the competence of Muslims in the knowledge of Islam increases, with the general spread of literacy and the normal patterns of political and cultural development. The Church, of course, must keep close to the fears and foibles of ordinary men and wear no blinkers of academic abstraction from reality. But if one should never overestimate what religions mean to men, one should never underestimate what they mean. This necessity is not made any easier by the all-too-ready temptation to communal pride or propagandist advantage. "Should we welcome anything that sets Islam in a better light?" asked a theologian at Ibadan. He was referring specifically to a new (English) translation of the Qurʾān which helps considerably to reduce its uninviting and half unintelligible aspects for English-speaking readers. But the question ranges over a host of other points, social, legal, intellectual. It is all too easy to feel that—some Islamic assertivenesses being what they are—"Islam in better light" is Islam more antagonistic to Christian ultimates, and certainly to Christian interests. But on the Christ-like ground of decision, there can be no doubt of the answer. "Love rejoiceth with the truth". Every movement of Islamic thought towards worthier versions of itself leaves the Christian with deeper and wider areas for the relevance of Christ. The Church, properly aware of itself, has no vested interest in other systems being static or unreformed. Though such 'dynamism' in the other system may well inspire superficial self-sufficiencies and newly resistant pride, sincerity in such 'dynamism' (without which nothing) only involves it more radically in that crisis of humanity to which Christ is the clue.

Meanwhile, the Christian ministry to actual men, where-ever they may be in the flux of their religious system, remains. How near or how far they may be from belonging intelligently to their allegiance may be illustrated from the following sample questions asked in a group of some sixty Muslim high school boys in the Northern Territories of Ghana. No apology is made for their intriguing realism and frankness.

> "Do you think the Muslim liturgy should be translated from Arabic into local languages?"
>
> "Is it better that we should understand what we pray, or not understand it?"
>
> "Is it true that a guinea fowl once dropped its dung on the Prophet Muḥammad when flying over his head and that for this reason he ordered that it should be 'thrashed' as we do in our local, popular ceremony? If so, is this as it should be?
>
> "Why do Muslims crouch to urinate, whereas westerners stand?"

"In what position should Muslims place their hands when at prayer? Muslims here have different ways of this".

"Why do we still need ablutions at prayer, if we have just had a bath?"

"In what senses are Aḥmadiyyah Muslims not proper Muslims? What was the origin of this Movement and what is the truth about it?"

"Is it right to take intoxicants as medicine?"

"Should we eat meat that has been killed by Christians?"

"Where do people who live in Mecca face when praying?" (Evidently the questioner here was under the impression that Ṣalāt was towards Mecca and he had not understood the significance of the Kaʿbah.)

Other similar questions, often disconcerting in their novelty, were asked on many other occasions and these examples must suffice. There was something rather sacred about this peculiar situation in which a Christian was freely and frankly questioned on Islam. It was partly because in remoter places there was no one else to ask. But perhaps it was also due in part to the realisation that the stranger, though somewhat knowledgeable, was nevertheless an outsider and it would be revealing to see what he said. Is there any parable here? Do not men need everywhere that sort of encounter which can hold a mirror up to themselves, in which they take their own measure? We want to lead men to the discovery of themselves, the why's and the wherefore's of their ways, in order that, in this deepened sense of who and what they are, they may come into what God wills for them in Christ. Perplexity is only illuminated by being known for the perplexity it is. If only men have the right interlocutors, may they not, in a measure, "talk themselves into the light?" Certainly the woman of Samaria did, in one celebrated well-side catechism, in Sychar. Surely it is in our capacity to inspire and respond to the right interrogatives that men will, literally, "take knowledge of us" unto Christ. If it is quite evidently the student's duty to seek Islam in persons, as well as in books, (often with unlooked for results), so it is also our duty to enable others to find Christianity in relationships, as well as in doctrines.

In this respect a visitor of whom it was known that he lived in Jerusalem had a certain grateful advantage. Not the least touching part of the catechism was the eager enquiry about the Holy Land. A belated announcement of an illustrated lecture on Jerusalem produced a crowded Church in Aroloya, Lagos, despite busy preparations for Christmas. A more reverent and moving interest in the sites and shrines of the Gospel could not have been desired. "Is it possible really to see where Jesus was crucified?" "What it in like in the Holy Land?" "Have you visited the place where Jesus was born?" "Is the countryside like our own here in Nigeria?" Not least important of these queries were those that concerned the discovery, or the deepened sense, that

Christianity had in no way originated with the white man and that he was its debtor, not its creator. And it is precisely in that New Testament history of the living Palestinian faith expanding into Gentile situations that West African theology may find the surest clues for its directions in the bewildering questions that beset it from the pagan context.

"Actual religious life is incurably syncretistic. So what should the Christian do?" "The Muslim treatment of women is very close to Yoruba tradition. Should we insist on different patterns of society?" "The most difficult obstacle to Muslims becoming Christians is the plurality of wives. What should we do?" "Ought exclusion from the Holy Communion to be used as a discipline for Christians who fall back into pagan or Muslim attitudes to marriage and marital disloyalty?" It may, perhaps be remarked in this connection that some have argued for a deliberate tolerance of a partial Christianity during a generation or two, as a necessary prelude to fully fledged Christian moral standards, after due education and habituation. But the argument tends to break down on the simple fact that in many senses it is precisely such a partial Christianity that in many quarters has obtained. And there is little evidence that it has in fact paved the way for a following generation of fuller achievement. It may perhaps be argued that it has not done so because it has not been deliberate. But there would seem to be little practical difference between a deliberate policy of 'toleration' of inferior standards and an actual existence of them, even assuming that such deliberateness could be theologically justified. Nor is it clear that Christian sects which do tolerate lower standards of conduct in the realm of marriage and sex, for their people, or for their clergy also, do in fact make better headway among Muslims or pagans. Yet the problem remains. There is the fact expressed in one Muslim question (or was it a Christian deploring it): "Christianity is full of don'ts and is not this why Islam proves more popular?" Our Christian wisdom here is doubtless to insist that such don'ts as appear are properly understood in the light of the great positive of Christian love and the equality of sex. Only as that glorious benediction is seen in its own light will its wonder prevail. Meanwhile, in the words of a familiar Nigerian remark: "I seek and I find, but I no see", where "I find" really means "I go on searching".

As might be expected, there were all the familiar problems in this catechism as to whether the God of Islam and of Christianity were the same, of how to deal with Muslim accusations of corruption in the Bible, of the Sonship of Christ to God, of the meaning and proclamation of the Holy Trinity, of the use of the name ʿĪsā for Jesus, of the appropriateness of the Bismillāh on Christian lips, of the Christian attitude to the Qurʾān and to the Prophet, of fatalism and its relation to Islam, of the impatience and tendentiousness of some Muslims. There were also questions which revealed puzzlement about the nature of

Christian love for Muslims. "When Christians are told to "love" Muslims, they fear it means going to the Ramaḍān feast, killing a ram on Easter Day or giving a daughter in marriage to a Muslim". How difficult of comprehension and, more, of realisation, is the Christian duty of love of one's neighbour, when there is all the time the instinct to believe that one's very security demands aloofness from him. If love breaks down alienation does it not, by the same token, expose us (and not only us but the truth) to possible disadvantage, to exploitation and to misrepresentation? Do we not better serve the Gospel by cultivating a studied aloofness from Islam? This issue was latent, for example, in the query of an African Bishop as to whether the Christian should not rightly feel chagrined when a Muslim owner of a fleet of Volkswagen taxis inscribed on them, after the African manner, the Trinitarian formula: "Holy! Holy! Holy!" Should not that phrase be monopolised by the community which means it? Is the Muslim being facetious? or patronising? or deliberately irritating? Or should one leave the matter in that vast and inexplicable realm of African sentiment where tidiness is no criterion of sincerity and, to quote another transport legend: "The sea is never dry"? The writer travelled in a cab from Ibadan to Lagos under the text: "By the grace of God I am", without ascertaining whether the proprietor meant it like St Paul. But surely there is hope for an alert Church in the expectation that, if he meant anything, what he meant might grow into what he did not yet mean. For "Johnny too can fly" and "There is no King as God". This African instinct to 'sloganise' the deepest things extends very far. One may find in many a city and village: "God's Will Electrical Service" and "Thy Will be done Photo Studio". In the latter case the photographer has to assume that the features he must make the best of are as God gave them. Perhaps therein he is a kind of parable of the Christian servant. But it is easier for the outsider than for the man of the soil to advocate the spirit of mental hospitality and communal openness of heart. For over all hangs the half articulate fear that if we try to think well of what is not Christian, we are either in danger of becoming less Christian ourselves or of blunting our appeal to non-Christians. If both fears are truly groundless, they are none the less emotionally well grounded. Here perhaps is the question of questions between the Church and Islam in West Africa.

One final point. It need not be thought that the most searching inner interrogatives lay upon the Christians alone. A joint Muslim-Christian session in Lagos, for example, evoked the following Muslim query: "Explain how Muslims may love Islam more than they love God":—this in response to an exposition of the plain fact that even Islam itself (as a system of public allegiance and communal pride) can become more central in the Muslims' emotion than the very God Whom it exalts and confesses. The whole idea that there could conceivably be a *Shirk*, an idolatry, in the manner of being Muslim, was

disturbingly novel and unthinkable. After some patience in exploring it, there seemed to dawn some recognition of the fairness of the issue. For clearly the Qur'ān itself proclaims that to God alone our ultimate allegiance must be. It is fatally easy to replace His worship with nomocracy, His Lordship with the corporate love of our corporate selves. For not being a *Mushrik*, or idolater, is a far more subtle and exacting thing than a crude iconoclasm supposes. It is most subtle of all when it penetrates the very spirit of one's adherence to the system that disowns it just as the Pharisee in the Parable had most reason for self-reproach in the very stuff of his self-satisfaction. He who undertakes to be a *Muslim*, to be submitted wholly to God, has undertaken more than he knows, more than can be actualised in glorying in the name. Equally far reaching was the Muslim question: "Explain how Christianity sees redemption as necessary to *Tauḥīd*". This also was in response to the claim that what matters ultimately in the dogma of the Divine Unity, what gives it point and meaning, is not merely that God is numerically One, but that His sovereignty is ontologically unrivalled. This latter can only be, if that One, Divine Lordship has redemptively undertaken the subduing of the evil in the world, which, unsubdued, remains to flout, defy and challenge the meaning of His Sovereignty.

But the implications of this enquiry take us far beyond a catechism that relates to West Africa alone. They are part of the sublime and immense meanings that come together whenever Muslim and Christian, in all the variety and the frailty of their mutuality, come together in thought and co-exist in society. Perhaps it would be fair to leave these fleeting glimpses of West African interrogatives with a paraphrase of our earlier quotation. For there and everywhere: "The answer in Christ is concentrically manifold... and that which alone we are able to present in words is but a rude symbol of His answer in our souls, as this in turn is a rude symbol of the whole answer that He is".

Jerusalem, Jordan. KENNETH CRAGG

BOOK REVIEWS

Islam in Modern History. By Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957. pp x, 317 $ 6.00.

Twentieth century man is disoriented, trying desperately to find his bearings in a world that has become unbelievably complex and, at times, menacing. No community is more deeply involved in the *malaise* and dilemmas of the age than the world of Islam. Within the short span of one generation the largest and most influential nations of the Islamic community have gained freedom from external control. Upon them has been thrust the challenge of renewing Islamic history. It is unfortunate that this long-hoped-for opportunity should have come at a time when the pressures of world politics are so intense that no community, least of all one occupying such strategic centers as the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent, can possibly work out its own destiny without serious interference from without. Thus for the Muslim world, the general crisis of 20th century man is compounded with the herculean task of bringing into some kind of working equilibrium the claims of a hallowed creed and the demands of a confused modernity. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has rendered an invaluable service to all those, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, who have any real concern for the world of Islam, in analyzing the dimensions of the opportunities and of the problems which this effort entails.

After a rapid survey of the historical interplay between faith and community in Islam, the author brings us down to the modern period when the task of fusing Islamic theory with the actualities of 20th century life weighs heavily on every segment of the household of Islam. He portrays vividly the growth and rapid decline of liberalism in the Islamic world, a liberalism doomed to failure largely because it was too closely identified or confused with Westernism. Liberalism then has been supplanted by nationalism, defensive apologetics, and violent, often fanatical, dynamism. These are all varying forms of reaction against Western political control or cultural penetration that seem to threaten the integrity of the Islamic whole.

The next chapters deal in turn with the Arab states, Turkey, Pakistan, and Indian Islam, analyzing the various ways in which each is meeting the challenge of the new era. The author evidently considers the Turkish experiment the most hopeful, primarily because it has used radical surgery to separate national institutions from traditional faith and is now free to recast what seems essential in its faith in forms suited to 20th century modernity. Although he never clearly states it, he certainly seems to view the Pakistan experiment as a mistake. For one who deplores and repudiates the "mordant" and unjustified Western criticism of an earlier day, some of his judgments of the Pakistan undertaking are surprisingly caustic ("frothy enthusiasm," "short-lived," "soon-routed"). In the same way, although to a lesser degree, his critique of the Arabs seems, at times, unduly harsh, not so much in its content as in its formulation.

The main assumption underlying this work seems to be that liberalism and humanism, or modernity of Western provenance, really re-

present the way of the future and provide the only effective basis for a sound Islamic renaissance, especially if it takes the form of a secular or *laique* view of the state. Is this entirely justified at a time when the West seems to have become disenchanted with its own earlier liberalism? Is it possible that the Islamic world, the Indic world, and all other communities, including Western man, must discover together some new ideological bases to meet the challenge of the contemporary world situation?

In spite of the general question raised here, we cannot be too grateful to Wilfred Cantwell Smith for his incisive and frequently brilliant apprehension of the spiritual crisis of the age as it affects Islam. Western observers should, as a result of this volume, become more understanding of the agonizing dilemmas that confront the thinking Muslim today. And the sensitive and thoughtful Muslim, despite the occasional pain which the masterfully wielded scalpel may cause him, should on second thought and second reading benefit profoundly from the clear insights of a true friend of the Islamic world.

Wooster, Ohio HAROLD B. SMITH

My Arabian days and nights. By Eleanor T. Calverley, M. D., Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1958, pp. 182, $ 2.95.

This book is an admirable document and delightful reading. It is just what its intriguing title indicates. It pictures the day by day experiences of the doctor-author, experiences which are mundane, amusing, happy, tragic, successful, frustrating, soul-searching, and always very human. And it is all so well told, with depth and yet with lightness of touch.

It will serve as excellent close-up source material of pioneer medical missionary work. As such it is equally valuable for the general reader, the student of missions, Islam, or Arabia, the inquiring candidate, and the pastor who wants to present the overseas mission of the Christian Church. Here you have the unembellished grass-roots picture of medical work in the most Muslim of Muslim lands, with all that that implies. Those of us who have shared in the life of the Near East will salute it as an authentic window on Islam.

Dr. Calverley takes us from the hard beginnings, through the growing developments of the later years and, finally, to the present day. As the Calverleys had the good fortune to be able to revisit the scenes of their early labors after an absence of some two decades, the author is able to give us a glimpse of the former Arabia, as contrasted with the modern Arabia since the discovery of oil, a land much changed and yet unchanged from their early days.

Behind the real spiritual message of the narrative is the person of the narrator, the warm personality, the courageous and skilled doctor, venturing untried surgery with trepidation and great faith, and ever demonstrating the power of love in the footsteps of the Greatest Physician.

Upper Montclair, New Jersey. EDWARD M. DODD

The Koran. A New Translation and Presentation. By Henry Mercier, translated from the French, by Lucien Tremlett. Illustrated by Si Abdelkrim Wezzani. 332 pp. London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1956, Printed in Rabat, Morocco at the Agdal Press.

This is a new translation of the Qurʾān and constitutes a completely new approach. In fact, the title of the book is somewhat misleading. It should not be called "The Koran," but rather "Basic Teachings of the Koran." It is an attempt to make the contents of the Qurʾān available in a systematic and comprehensive form to the non-Muslim reader and inquirer. ...

The Qurʾān is hard reading for the uninitiated reader. Not only is the beauty of the Arabic language completely lost, but also its gems of wisdom and its deep spiritual message are often hidden in what seems to be lengthy narrative. Its poetry can only be appreciated when one knows the local Arab scene. There are exhortations and reiterations. The result is that many western readers give up reading the book before reaching its end, and, if they finish it, they are often unable to retain a clear concept of its content.

Prof. Hency Mercies has come to the rescue in arranging the subject matter of the Qurʾān under the following headings: I — Dogmatic Prescriptions; II — Worship and Ritual; III— Moral Prescriptions; IV — Legal Prescriptions; V — Sacred History. He cites the most essential verses pertaining to each subject, first in Arabic with a transliteration, and then in English translation. No comments or remarks are made, thus allowing the text to exercise its full force upon the reader. Seen in what appears to the non-Muslim to be its essential teaching, the Qurʾān reveals its great wealth of spiritual truth, wisdom and guidance. It begins to glimmer and to shine in a new light, formerly only dimly perceived.

The verses selected in this presentation are, in general, well chosen. Critics will be found who will say that, in certain cases, some other verses would have been more representative or that some passages should have been quoted at greater length. This kind of criticism, however, is hardly avoidable under the circumstances. The English translation is generally good; in a number of instances it could have been closer to the original, but only in very few cases does it vary to an extent which could possibly lead the reader to a conclusion not inherent in the Arabic text.

The compiler must be congratulated for the fine work he has done. Undoubtedly this work will introduce many western readers to the richness and beauty of the Qurʾān and, we hope, be an incentive to them to reach for the regular edition which they will then be able to appreciate more fully than heretofore. This version can also be used as a quick reference work for the basic teachings of the Qurʾān.

New York, N.Y. ERICH W. BETHMANN

Kurds, Turks and Arabs. By C. J. Edmonds, Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1957, pp. 457, plus xiii, maps, illustrations. $ 6.75.

Not written for entertainment or for a general public, this most detailed study focuses on a very small area but brings to bear the disciplines of the administrator, the scholar and the sociologist in describing it. The author was already a Persian scholar when first assigned, in 1919, as an officer to the Kurdish regions east of Kirkuk in Iraq. In this book he describes the geography, the political development, the social and religious organizations and the events which transpired between the years 1919 and 1924. The area is peripheral to the great transportation routes which encircle it and, as a result, little has been known about it. Yet archaeologists have discovered such important sites as Paikuli, Nuzi and others which have added much to the history of the past. Military events have taken place here which have determined the fate of empires. Furthermore, no adequate study of Kurdish society exists, (though there have been a number of good attempts) apart from three books written by British officers who served in northeastern Iraq as colleagues of Edmonds. The other two are E. B. Soane and W. R. Hay. To future historians the works of these three men will prove gold mines. The most complete, carefully organized and sympathetically executed is this book by Edmonds.

With painstaking care, Edmonds kept voluminous notes on all phases of his activities. The first set were lost on the retreat from Darband when Shaikh Maḥmūd, assisted by the Turks, routed the advanced posts along the border and the mule carrying the records was a casualty of the retreat. But, fortunately, Edmonds returned to the area and repeated his note-taking. Obviously he enjoyed the experience and he has been able to communicate his emotions well in the text. He has a large number of word portraits of Kurdish chiefs of that day — Babakr Agha, Saiyid Taha and Shaikh Maḥmūd, which serve as good measures for understanding leadership among the tribes. There are excellent descriptions of the terrain and a number of illustrations which effectively confirm the narrative. Maps make it possible to locate the events as described.

While all of the book is interesting reading, it is the searchlight on the Kurds which is the most valuable portion of the book. These friendly but fickle people, socially immature, poorly governed and practically illiterate, have a capacity for humor and pride. Mr. Edmonds brilliantly describes all these features. Possibly the reviewer is a prejudiced reader. He was in Mosul from 1921-24, has visited most of the towns mentioned and has had the opportunity to meet many of the personalities, both Kurdish and British. The book was exciting reading. Mr. Edmonds has placed the scholar greatly in his debt.

Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

Edwin M. Wright

An Introduction to Modern Arabic. By Farhat J. Ziadeh and R. Bayly Winder, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1957, pp. 298, xii. $ 6.00.

With the addition of courses in Arabic, Islamic and Middle East area studies to the curricula of many institutions of higher learning, the need for a good introductory grammar of modern literary Arabic has long been felt. The older standard works by Socin, Thatcher and Tritton, designed as they were for elementary students of the Arabic classics, offer a painful introduction to the current literary and journalistic idioms. Kapliwatzky's four-volume work, based on the modern written language and originally intended for secondary school pupils, is unsatisfactory for use on the university level.

An Introduction to Modern Arabic is a major step toward the goal sought by Arabists in American colleges. Its thirty-five chapters make it possible to cover the basic morphology and syntax of Arabic systematically in a relatively short time. Given five contact hours per week, a good class should be able to cover it in one semester. The vocabulary, based on Moshe Brill's frequency count, is highly practical. Typographically the volume is superb. The reviewer found only one minor printing error on page 42, line 1, where the order of initial *waṣlah* and *sukūn* of *al wādī* is transposed.

What is most important, the arrangement and presentation of the material is such that the instructor can decide for himself where expansion or emphasis should lie and where material may be glossed over.

Any adverse criticisms of the work stem from one major oversight. It is a pity that the authors neglected to consult professional linguists concerning the description of grammatical processes. This shortcoming is evident in many places. The phonological discussion is, perhaps, one portion that should be revised. For example, Arabic /t/ is described as being most like the *t* of *eighth*. In whose English? The quality of the English *t* in this environment is alveolar and unaspirated, while that of the Arabic phone is dental and aspirated. The vowel *fathah* is described as being the same "as that of the *a* in English *fat* or *add*," which is not at all the case, phonetically or phonemically. It is, admittedly, very difficult to present a phonological description that is not overly technical. It can, however, be done and should be done in subsequent editions of the volume.

Chapter Seven, entitled *The Arabic Language in General*, also needs reworking. References to Arabic and Latin as being synthetic or analytical languages, as contrasted with English, are meaningless and confusing. So too, is the rationalistic treatment of the semantics of the derived conjugations. On page 21, the reader is informed on lines 5 and 6 that each derived form of the Arabic verb "bears a specific semantic relationship to the simple verb," while in the next paragraph he is told that all too often "it is almost impossible to predict the meaning of the particular derived form." In their treatment of the weak verbs, the authors would have done well to present the paradigms without misleading and erroneous references to "euphonic" reason (as in the last sentence of page 66) or to faulty reconstructions (as in the second paragraph on page 109) which offer no help to the student.

On this last point, the authors have followed reconstructions general-

ly acceptable to Semitists which should be re-examined. A morphophonemic situation which causes a form like *ʔaxwafa* to pass to *ʔaxāfa* should leave no occurrences like *ʔarwaḥa* and *ʔarāḥa* side by side, and, furthermore, cannot account for forms like *ʔizdawaja* to the exclusion of *ʔizdāja*. This reviewer takes strong exception to misinterpretations of the proverb "the exception proves the rule" as found in the note near the top of page 66.

The syntactic discussions are, on the whole, better. But, now and then, the same weaknesses appear. For example, it is stated on page 75 that the "predicate of the verb *kāna*, unlike that of the verb *to be* in English, is always in the accusative." The passage might be worded better "the verb *kāna* governs an accusative predicate." Similarly, a note on page 101 states that the relative clause in Arabic always requires an additional pronoun, either expressed or implied, referring back to the antecedent. An implied pronoun, since it is not expressed, can never be additional. One cannot add something that is not there! I assume that the authors did not have in mind what is technically termed a zero allomorph of the pronoun. One real handicap, however, is the absence of a vocabulary list for each lesson. A second edition might rectify this and also expand the Arabic to English translation exercise for each chapter. The exercises in the volume are too short and give insufficient pattern drill. The authors nevertheless have done a noteworthy service to students of Arabic.

University of Kentucky, Lexington GENE M. SCHRAMM

A Faith for the Nations. By Charles W. Forman, The Westminster Press, Philedelphia, 1957, 94 pp., $ 1.00.

This handbook rounds out the twelve studies that comprise the Laymen's Theological Library. Like the others, it is brief, concise, and aimed at the interest and capacity of the layman in the local church. Written by the Associate Professor of Missions in Yale Divinity School, himself formerly a missionary, of the fourth generation, it bears on every page a sense of the tensions of modern life throughout the world, of the need of mankind for unity, and of the search for a bedrock basis in faith. This the author finds in a knowledge of the Good News of God's love for all men and of His deed of salvation in Jesus Christ, bracketing the bearer and the hearer alike as sinners, loved, sought and redeemed by the God Who is our Father.

The combination of urgent conviction, kindly solicitude, and courteous appreciation of other cultural religious groups makes the book an appealing and attractive one. There is always a place for a fresh presentation of classic Christianity and of the traditional world-mission at its best. Dr. Forman's book gives us just this and it should fill a real need. Perhaps some readers may feel that in so controversial an area the clearing of the field of all divergent views might have been a little less facile and sweeping. They will hope that the author may soon re-embody his winsome apologia for Christian Missions in a larger and more developed form.

New York City and Hartford, Connecticut. CHARLES W. IGLEHART

'Ata-Malik Juvainī, The History of the World Conqueror. Translated from the Persian by John Andrew Boyle, with a foreword by The Hon. Steven Runciman, in two Volumes, pp. 763, Manchester University Press, £ 3.3s. the two.

So far this year in the field of Oriental Studies the most important event is the publication of Dr. Boyle's translation of Juvainī's history of the Mongol invasions of Islam in the 13th century. It is one of the most important things done by a British orientalist for a long time and may be the beginning of a fresh realisation that one of the orientalist's duties to society is to help as many as possible to understand more about the peoples whose language he has the privilege of knowing. Dr. Boyle has rendered the historian a great service. More than this he has also supplied the general reader with a book which might other wise have long remained inaccessible, in a language few have time to learn. Moreover it is of profound importance, describing the events in Persia and Mesopotamia leading up to the final Mongol onslaught which culminated in Hulagu's destruction of Baghdad in 1258, and which, from the time of the murder of a Mongol trade mission in Otrar near the beginning of the century, took place to the accompaniment of deeper and deeper Mongol incursions into the lands of the Eastern Caliphate. It gives a picture of error, vacillation and futile gallantry on the part of the last Khorazmshah, Jalāl ud-Dīn, with the inevitable doom of this and other Muslim Sultans coming ever nearer in the shape of the vast Mongol armies and their imperturbable leaders, based on a Central Asian Empire and no doubt as unaware of the true nature of the process in which they were involved as was Jalāl ud-Dīn himself.

Yet it appears that Muḥammad, the penultimate Khorazmshah, was aware that a force was coming from the East that none could hold back. He made the mistakes which gave the Mongol hosts unshielded access to the lands of the Caliphate and realized when it was too late that this would be no ordinary war but a conquest more complete and more terrible than had ever been known. With a rare touch of detail Juvainī describes how this monarch's broken nerves resulted in his having a nervous skin rash as he fled to die on an island off the Caspian coast. As it was Muḥammad whom the Mongols held responsible for the massacre of their traders at Otrar, with a nightmarish persistence the great Khan's soldiers pursued him almost to the end to exact vengeance.

While Muḥammad Khorazmshah and the historian Juvaini comprehended the full impact of the events that were taking place, Jalāl ud-Dīn, Muḥammad's successor, comes out of the story blessedly uninhibited by thoughts of being an instrument in the ending of an age and the almost total destruction of a civilisation. Hence perhaps his courage, memories of which remain dear to the hearts of Iranians, and his counsels of hope and contrivances to stem the tide of the enemy hosts. But he was not only incapable of preventing the sweep of hither Asia into the Middle East; he was also unable to overcome the suspicions, rivalries and internecine wars endemic to the last in Iran itself. In fact in refusing the tribes' offers that he should retire to the south under their protection, making the Zagros Mountains across Southern Persian his line of defence, he showed himself as subject to the prevailing sus-

picion of the motives of others as were most of his co-religionists, be they Arab, Persian or Turk.

The Mongols took their time over the conquest of Eastern Islam. There was time for Jalāl ud-Dīn, having lost a kingdom in the North East of Iran, to attempt founding one in the wake of his dynasty's Seljuq predecessors, in Azerbaijan and Armenia over towards Asia Minor. There was time for the successors of Genghiz Khan to organize their own dynastic affairs and set things right at home before mustering for the final blow at the lands of the Eastern Caliphate. It says much for the skill of Juvainī as an historian that his remarkable book covers all this: tellingly reveals these cataclysmic goings-on, painted on a canvas stretching from China to the banks of the Tigris. Hardly a detail is missed and many a poignant touch is given that only an historian who was also a literary artist, a learned and astute eye-witness and himself an important man of affairs, would be capable of including. Therefore, besides being a wonderful history, Juvainī's book is also a splendid mirror of an age, an age of devastating change and, as such ages are wont to be, of rich culture, too. Dr. Boyle has rendered Juvainī into fine and readable English and has in no way failed in bringing us the full force of this keen-eyed, erudite historian's description of events and prescient assessment of their consequences. It is fortunate that so stirring and terrible a period of Persian history should have had such remarkable analists, (Juvainī was not the only one), who while living through the terrors of the days had sufficient genius to comprehend events and record their observations in immaculate language, with comments all too often witheringly just. Nor, despite the crashing down of Friday Mosques and the incineration of once famous cities, and, above all, the difficulties of preserving their own lives, did they forget the embellishments necessary to the compositions of educated men of their time.

Dr. Boyle's achievement has of course a far wider significance than that of an orientalist's extremely scholarly, annotated translation of a great Persian work. Juvainī's book was the book of an Age, an epitaph consciously wrought to a world and way of life he knew to be passing away, vanishing in the dust of the Mongols' coming, and even to a Faith he saw in dire peril of extinction. Juvainī deliberately recorded what was happening for the information, guidance and, in a sense, consolation of posterity. The Mongol devastation of Khorassan was quite without precedent. Orders were given and carried out to the letter, that in certain cities not a single living creature, animal or human, was to be left alive. Soldiers were even sent back to cities so razed to catch and kill those few who had emerged a week or two later from underground water-courses and outlying fields where they had taken refuge. This is the kind of utter destruction and complete eradication of life that threatens our own age. It seems that only in he Mongol desolation of Northern Persia have we an apt comparison for the effects of atomic war.

Yet Juvainī also provides consolation, if only by the fact of his surviving the scourges of his time to tell the tale, and to tell it with marvellous sanity and depth of perception, without a trace of the hyst-

eria which, in all the circumstances, would have been pardonable. Thus he proves the eventual triumph of the human intellect over all the awful perils by which it can beset itself. So Dr. Boyle's labours have provided our time with something far more valuable and thrilling than a translation of part of the annals of Persian history. He has given English readers one of the greatest books ever composed. Thank goodness he has done it so well.

King's College,
Cambridge, England.

P. W. AVERY.

Bedouin Doctor: My Adventurous Years With the Arabs. By Herbert Pritzke, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1957, pp. 255, Illustrations and map, $ 3.95.

This thrilling true story, translated from the German by Richard Graves, deals with events beginning eighteen months after the end of World War II. Dr. Herbert Pritzke, captured with other German soldiers of Rommel's Afrika Korps, tells how be escaped from the P. O. W. camp in the British Canal Zone and, after two days and a night of painful plodding through the loose sand of the Egyptian desert, finally arrived, almost dead from thirst and exhaustion, at a Bedouin camp where he was welcomed and befriended. "I stayed," writes the doctor, "let my beard grow and became a Bedouin." He learned Arabic and became an interpreter for his Arab friends. One day he saved a life by ligating a bleeding vessel and thereafter was set up by them as a practicing physician. As an escapee he dared not show himself in a city, but his prescriptions, signed in French: "The Unknown Doctor" were dispensed by a Greek pharmacist in Ismailia.

Before long, Dr. Pritzke discovered that his Bedouin camp owed its evident prosperity to an illicit trade in the intoxicant, hashish. When police raided the camp on this account he had to flee with the Bedouins on camel back until the raid was over. After this he was pressed into service and felt unable to refuse his cooperation in the illegal business. Repeatedly he risked his life in daring and somtimes unsuccessful ventures connected with the smuggling of hashish, firearms and morphine. "I had fallen very low", he laments.

The reader will learn how Dr. Pritzke finally left the Bedouin camp and enlisted at the headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood as a "Fighter for Freedom", dedicated to the Arab cause in Palestine. This was before the expiration of the Mandate. Later, escaping from Jaffa with other German mercenaries he went by ship to Lebanon where he joined the staff of a Beirut hospital. He later became a health officer of the Saudi Arabian Government in Hofhuf, and took part in an expedition through the "Empty Quarter" to treat Saudi Arabian men wounded in the fight for Baraimi. He served as a "children's doctor" in Beirut and obtaining a passport went home to Germany for a visit.

Besides being an exciting personal adventure story this book furnishes an interesting commentary on some post-war events in Middle East history. It gives important side lights on life and government in Saudi Arabia. It illustrates some indirect effects that war can have on the character of previously honest individuals.

Hartford, Connecticut

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

SHORTER NOTICES

Histoire Sociale d'un Village Egyptien au XXème Siècle. By Jacques Berque, Mouton & Co., The Hague 1957. pp. 87, maps, illustration.

This is a careful study of the social institutions of an Egyptian village. It portrays the close integration of soil and people; the village ceremonies; the social hierarchy, based on families, and carried over even into burial sites. The most significant contribution comes in the last chapter where the author analyzes the tremendous modifications effected in village outlook in the course of the past fifty years. Not least among the changes is the movement away from millenial isolation into an awareness of the nation and its relation to the world as a whole.

Whither North Africa. By Nicola Ziadeh, Aligarh, Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1957, pp. 79.

The author teaches in the Department of History of the American University of Beirut. He presents in a concise and straightforward manner the history of the French in the three North African countries of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. His conclusions: France thought only of herself in dealing with North African affairs and neglected the basic needs of the people, what little she tried to give was given in a manner which alienated the North African, his belief in Islam and his conviction that Arabo-Islamic culture is uniquely significant.

Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan. By M. I. Faruqi, Lahore, 1957. Jamaat-i-Islami, pp. 92.

This booklet was prepared for the International Book exhibition held in Chicago in May, 1957 and is intended to serve as introduction to the aims and organization of the Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan. It contains a short biographical sketch of the founder, Maulana Abū-l-ᶜAlā al-Maudūdī and an annotated bibliography of some of the movement's more important publications. There is also a list of other books, both in Urdu and English.

Directory of Social Agencies in Cairo. Prepared by Isis Istiphan. Social Research Center, The American University at Cairo, 1956, pp. xvii, 495, map.

About 2000 agencies are listed and indexed according to services and area of the city. This is rich in clues to the sociology of Modern Egypt.

A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos. Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, Washington, D. C., 1957, pp. xiii, 36. $ 1.00.

The best of the theological libraries of the Greek and Byzantine churches from the Middle Ages are set forth in this third list of the series which also includes the monastery libraries of Sinai and Jerusalem.

Jordan, Lebanon and Syria: *An Annotated Bibliography.* By Raphael Patai. Human Relations Area Files, Inc., New Haven, Connecticut, 1957, pp. vii, 311. $ 6.50.

A bibliography covering especially the social sciences, with listing of outstanding works in other fields as well. It is described as intended

primarily for those interested in the peoples and cultures of contemporary Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. It is an aid and stimulus to study in this field sponsored by the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a publishing group that also maintains its records at 16 member universities and in Washington, D.C.

A Selected and annotated bibliography of economic literature on the Arabic speaking countries of the Middle East. 1938-1952. Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, 1954, pp. lx, 199.
Supplement for 1953, published Jan. 1955, pp. xii, 79.
Supplement for 1954, Dec. 1955, pp. xiii, 64.
Supplement for 1955. Dec. 1956, pp. xiii, 103.

This is a worthwhile undertaking of the Economic Research Institute at Beirut in listing studies in the field of economics in the Arabic speakking Middle Eastern countries. Helpful indices are included. Brief mention is usually made of the contents of each publication.

Laity (Semi-Annual Bulletin, Department on the Laity, World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland). The November issue carries two articles of interest to all persons concerned with the World Christian Mission. "The Spontaneous Missionary Church" quotes widely from authorities depicting the life of the church immediately after New-Testament times. "A Younger Church Grows into Maturity" is the fascinating story of Churches in East Java founded and built up by laymen. Although not written by laymen nor addressed to them, these studies shed light on the place of the laity in Worldwide Christianity.

Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, No. 1, 1957. Published by the Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh, pp. 70, Rs. 3.50 or 5 shillings.

The *Bulletin* is the first in a series which the Institute of Islamic Studies of the Muslim University, Aligarh, intends to publish at the end of each academic year. It contains five articles ranging from Persian literature to politics in the Arab world. This first issue has succeeded notably in attaining its professed aim of strict standards of objectivity and freedom from emotional bias, while dealing with subject matter that lends itself easily to impassioned special pleading.

Fanaticism, Intolerance and Islam. By Khurshid Ahmed, Jamaat-i-Islami Publications, Lahore, 1957, pp. 62.

Written in refutation of the charge that Islam is intolerant and dedicated to "the sacred memory of Abdūl Qādir ʿAudah and five other martyrs of Islam who laid their precious lives at the bloodthirsty altar of secular intolerance of Nasir's Egypt on 7th December, 1954," this book presents the thesis that intolerance has characterised the history of Christianity and western secular culture and that Islam has never been intolerant — except of anti-Islamic movements. The first argument is supported by numerous quotations from western writers and the second by quotations from the Qurʾān and from T. W. Arnold.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. The Afro-Asian "Solidarity" Conference which met in Cairo December 26, 1957, to January 1, 1958, may be viewed from its political and non-political aspects. Politically, it was a non-governmental gathering of over four hundred representatives from some forty-five countries of Asia and Africa. Notably absent were representatives from Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Tunisia and Morocco, who declined the invitation to participate. It has been compared with the Bandung Conference of April 1955, but with differences. The Bandung Conference was on the governmental level, having been organized by the Colombo Powers, and was ostensibly "neutral" in respect of world tensions. The Cairo Conference was unofficial and, as it turned out before its close, clearly not "neutral." The tone of the Cairo Conference was in open opposition to "imperialism", Westernism, military pacts, foreign bases, nuclear tests. The gathering provided an opportunity for the participants to hear Russian offers of economic assistance wherever needed. Consideration was given to the proposal to develop an African-Asian common market. It set up a Peoples' Solidarity Council, with a Secretariat, composed of representatives from each member country, to meet annually, for the purpose of implementing the resolutions of the Afro-Asian Conference and to strengthen African-Asian solidarity. Its headquarters are to be in Cairo. Its President for a two-year term is Yūsuf al-Ṣabrī of Egypt.

On the non-political side, it became another occasion for the peoples of Asia and Africa, the non-Western lands, to confront each other, examine their common needs, express their common grievances and resentments, and take steps toward redress. It is too soon to essay an estimate of the positive results of their deliberations and of the resolutions adopted, either on the political or non-political level. Yet one cannot but hope that, in spite of bitter sentiments expressed, some ideas advanced in the interest of the general welfare may lead to projects favorable to better understanding, mutual helpfulness and harmonious relationships between peoples.

Sudanese Constitutional Definition. During the weeks prior to publication of this issue the question of constitutional patterns has been under decision in the Sudan. Everywhere in the south there is a firm desire for federation and what has been termed a "bamboo barrier" between north and south. The latter asserts that its acceptance of independence in 1955 was conditional upon a federal form of future government. This seems to two and a half million southerners the only protection against the preponderance of the north, which, however, in its turn, views the matter in the light of its superior administrative potential and its great financial role in southern affairs. It is felt in the north that federation can only lead to anarchy, however strong the emotional feelings behind the demand—feelings which erupted in July 1955 in risings in the south in which some three hundred northern Sudanese were murdered. The northern insistence that the country is essentially one, despite its racial and other distinctions, is one against

which there is little sound argument in logic but towards which there can only be an exacting and perilous progress in fact.

Sino-Arab Friendship. Under date of Dec. 1, 1957, in the *Peoples China,* a publication of Peking, Mr. Muḥammad Makien (Ma-Chien), a Chinese Muslim, expressed appreciation at the large number of guests visiting his country from the Middle East, envoys of culture, art, peace and friendship. On September 30, 1957, in Peking the formation of a China-Syria Friendship Association was announced. A China-Egypt Friendship Association had been formed the previous year. The author, who studied in Egypt 1931-1939, is professor of Arabic at Peking University. He mentions the trade relations between China and the Arabs in the early Islamic centuries carried on by ships of both peoples. He draws on Al-Masᶜūdī as his main source of information. It was common to see ships from Persia in Chinese waters. In Yangchow alone, according to ancient Chinese records, there were several thousand Persian and Arab merchants, substantiating claims of Al-Masᶜūdī of the presence of 200,000 Muslims, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians in Canton, all from the Arab Empire. Chinese historical records mention many Arab missions to China in the ᶜAbbāsid period, and visits of other individual envoys. Apparently trade was on a barter or exchange of "gift" basis. Muslim records show that relations between the two peoples were friendly, and that the Arabs were interested in Chinese customs. With the advent of the Mongol domination cultural exchange increased. Arabic works on astronomy, geometry and medicine were introduced. The author cites medicinal terms that have been retained in the Chinese language and instances of remarkable surgical remedies due to Muslim science. He sets the introduction of Islam in China in the 7th century and draws upon the merchant- writer Sulaymān and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for information regarding Islam in China thereafter. He claims that for a thousand years Islam was propagated without restriction in China, was persecuted under the Kuomintang rule, and at present enjoys perfect religious freedom. He states that there are over ten million followers of Islam in China. The writer makes much of the importance of Arabic, historically and at present, for Muslims in China. In mosque services the Arabic tongue is used for prayers and the sermon. In the larger mosques according to the writer Muslim theology and jurisprudence are studied from the Arabic texts. The classic Thousand and One Nights, as translated into Chinese, is very popular. Other works on Islam produced in the Chinese language as long ago as the 18th century, have permitted the people to acquire a good knowledge of Muslim thought and of the life of the Prophet. Mention is also made of the introduction of Chinese culture into Arab countries: paper-making, printing, the compass, porcelain, etc. In conclusion the writer expresses satisfaction at the present friendly relations between the two peoples, a friendship which in fact dates from ancient times.

Academic Issues in Turkey. Following the election in the fall of 1957, the Turkish parliament passed a series of restrictive laws making it a criminal offense for a newspaper to print anything said in Par-

liament that the Assembly president deems "defamatory to Parliament or its members". When the Istanbul newspaper, *CUMHURIYET*, sent a copy of the statute to Prof. Husein Kubali, professor of constitutional law at Istanbul University, he held that on strictly legal grounds the statute was unconstitutional because "it perverted the principle of freedom of expression" as defined by the Turkish constitution.

Following Kubali's statement, the Minister of Education demanded that a board of his colleagues examine Kubali on the charge of "political activity". After the board cleared him, the Minister of Education suspended Prof. Kubali from the University. As friends of Prof. Kubali attempted to find a new job for Kubali, the Turkish Parliament had before it a new law giving the government the right to prohibit Turkish professors from teaching in any foreign university without the Education Minister's express permission.

Several weeks after the suspension, as the matter was being debated in the Parliament, the Minister of Education announced that Prof. Kubali would be reinstated in view of his change in attitude on the matter. Because Prof. Kubali had not changed his mind on the matter, he gave a press conference indicating his points of view. This immediately provoked the University Senate to impose a month's suspension upon the Professor. Intermittently the University students have carried on demonstrations at the University, to the point of refusing to attend the classes of the instructor assigned to teach Kubali's classes. As the end of the thirty-day suspension. Professor Kubali resumed his teaching after a three-month's interruption. He was greeted with evident signs of pleasure and affection by his students. The incident, however, is one in a series of governmental intrusions upon academic freedom which must give disquiet to observers who believe in the dignity and responsibility of academic leadership and the dangers of muzzled scholarship.

Irrigation in the heart of Turkey. The River Kizilirmak, or Red River, in Anatolia is to be the center of a great development project in inland Turkey involving six hydro-electric barrages, from which power will be generated for north west Anatolia and the city of Istanbul. The first of the six at Hirfanli was begun in 1954 and has involved a labor force of one and a half thousand, and much else by way of cataclysmic change in the life of the villagers. The red clay which gives its name to the river sinks to the bed of the vast lake created by the dam which holds three million cubic feet of rock and earth. The lake is 45 miles in length and 14 villages have been submerged to make it and it has cost some 30 million dollars to create. A new mosque has been it constructed at Hirfanli by the villagers, with help from the firm of engineers responsible for the dam, to remind the new world of technology emerging in rural Turkey that there is an ancient heritage to which the new is obligated.

Religious Education in Pakistan. In a recent editorial under this heading *Al-Iṡlām,* fortnightly journal of the Holy Qurʾān Society of Karachi, refers to the provision of the Pakistani Constitution about making the teaching of the Qurʾān compulsory and promoting the

Islamic understanding of life under the Sunnah. The editorial complains that the Ministry of Education is in no sense implementing these provisions and calls upon it to realise its duty in respect of the religious education of Pakistanis. It deplores the fact that nothing is known about any scheme to make Quranic study compulsory. Nor has the Ministry offered any help to volunteer societies such as the Holy Qurʾān Society which has fifty madrasas in Karachi handling some five thousand students. Though governmental grants have been available for cultural projects that are flimsy, no Government support has been forthcoming for fundamental Islamic education. Apparently, concludes the editorial, Ministers are too pre-occupied with loaves and fishes and "take no interest in activities they deem unproductive to themselves".

Religious Center in Israel. A new building for the seat of the Chief Rabbinate in Israeli Jerusalem was opened in May, most of the cost having been donated by a British industrial magnate. The building has a dominating character, with a fine hall of convocation capable of seating one thousand people and crowned with a notable cupola. Hitherto the Chief Rabbinate had been housed in shoddy quarters ill befitting its dignity. The ceremony of inauguration of the new center was not attended by the conservative orthodox groups. The structure with its court rooms, synagogue, library and museum —all in elaborate splendour—symbolises both the aim and the difficulty of the encounter in Israel between historic Judaism and the secular spirit. The erection cost well over one million and a half dollars. Perhaps this addition to the skyline and to the life of Israeli Jerusalem has some import for a remark made long ago by T. E. Lawrence: "The problem of Zionism is the problem of the third generation. It is the grandsons of your immigrants who will make it succeed or fail." In the ten years since the Palestine War about 900,000 immigrants have entered the State while some 50,000 have re-emigrated, mainly to the U.S.A. The first number corresponds very closely to the total of Arab refugees; but whereas Israel's immigrants have been absorbed and settled into the national life and common security, their Arab displacees remain in camps very much as they were in the first year of exile, except that years of exile leave nobody the same.

Though in Mandate times it used to be true that part of the 'Palestine Problem' lay in the impact of a largely European culture upon an Arab and Asian setting, it is important to realise now the extent to which the European proportion in Israel's population is receding. Whereas in 1948 only about 15 % of the foreign born population in Israel derived from Asia and Africa the figure now is put at some 45 %. In the reasonably near future Jews of non-European origin will form at least half of the population.

Al-Ḥikmat University, Baghdad. Since the publication in our April issue, (Vol. xlviii.2, pp. 136-147) of Dr. Andrew G. O'Connor's article on "Higher Learning in Iraq" the new building of the Jesuit University there referred to has been begun. On May 14th the corner stone was laid by H. M. King Faisal in the presence of a distinguished

company. A 168 acre site on the bank of the Diyala River has been made available by the Iraq Government. The U.S. Government Aid Program, the Ford Foundation and other bodies have also assisted generously. The University is expected to move from temporary quarters in the Sulaika grounds of Baghdad College to Al-Zaafaraniyah in September 1959. Father Leo J. Guay is in charge of the plans for the buildings. The foundation laying ceremony was attended by Government and city officials and by many religious dignitaries.

Tunisia. Disorders in North Africa serve to focus attention on the small Republic of Tunisia. Its size need not be a measure of its importance among the Arab countries. With new developments there are reasons to justify hope in its future prosperity. On March 21, 1956 after three quarters of a century of Protectorate status, the independence of Tunisia was officially recognized. Four days later a National Constituent Assembly was elected and, on April 8, chose Mr. Habib Bourguiba as its first President. Immediately it set about to form a constitution. On July 25, 1957, the National Constituent Assembly proclaimed Tunisia a Republic and proceeded to depose the Bey whose dynasty had been founded in 1705. The new constitution provides for a President with executive power, assisted by twelve Secretaries of State and three Under-Secretaries of State with Cabinet rank. There is no Prime Minister.

The processes of government are gradually being worked out. Many obstacles remain to be overcome. Yet progress made to date is remarkable. President Habib Bourguiba, trained in the Sorbonne, enjoys the esteem and confidence of his people. Under his leadership significant reforms have been effected. In the first category of reforms is that of regional administration, tending toward modernization, stabilization and greater efficiency. Secondly, the judicial system has been entirely renovated. On July 1, 1957, the French jurisdiction in the courts ceased. The religious tribunals (Mālikite and Ḥanīfite) were also abolished and their function transferred to secular courts modeled on those of France. The third category of reforms pertained to the personal status of Muslims and became effective on January 1, 1957. Among them was the abolition of polygamy, restrictions on divorce and the institution of a minimum marriage age. Women were granted the franchise at the age of twenty on condition that, as a symbol of their emancipation, they abandon the veil. Women voted for the first time on May 6, 1957.

Tunisia is conscious of the necessity to increase educational facilities and is adopting appropriate measures. Five hundred new classes were opened in the fall of 1957, for girls as well as boys. The one word which characterizes the foregoing developments is "modernization".

Financial and economic problems are being faced with resolution. Unemployment is high. On March 26, 1957, the U.S. agreed to loan Tunisia five and one-half million dollars to help its economy. Tunisia has several good ports, among them the naval base at Bizerta. The fisheries are a source of food supply and revenue.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

Clearance of the Suez Canal. Dag Hammarskjöld. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Autumn, 1957. pp. 432-435. The Secretary-General's formal report to the United Nations.

Developments of the Quarter: *comment and chronology. The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Autumn, 1957. pp. 410-431. Covers July 1 to September 30, 1957.

Lévi-Provençal. S. M. Imamuddin. *Islamic Literature,* Karachi. January-February, 1957. pp. 41-43. An appreciation of this great historian of Muslim Spain.

Muslim table games: a contribution to their history in Al-Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān. Joseph Somogyi. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. October, 1956-January, 1957. pp. 236-244. An essay on the ancient games of chess and backgammon.

Procopius on the Ghassānids. Irfan Kowar. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. April-June, 1957. pp. 79-87. Discusses the work of the Greek historian as source material for the study of the times of Justinian.

Références. A. van Leeuwen. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. Vol. 19, part 4. pp. 447-464. A classified bibliography of periodical references covering August 1-December 31, 1956.

Shar Bazhêr and the basin of the Qalachuwalan. C. J. Edmonds. *The Geographical Review,* London. September, 1957. pp. 318-328. Although the journeyings described by the author took place from 1919 to 1929, they are still of interest as being the latest extensive descriptions of this section of Iraqi Kurdistan on the Persian frontier.

The tourists' Persia. Lawrence Lafore. *Harper's,* New York. June, 1957. pp. 51-56. Enthusiastic comments.

The trend of contemporary Arabic literature. A. K. Julius Germanus. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. April-July, 1957. pp. 29-51. Comment, with extracts in Arabic and English, on various poems honouring the "glorious dead" and describing the interests and problems of the living.

II ARABIA

Arabia and the West. *The Round Table, London.* September, 1957. pp. 323-329. A survey of Anglo-American relations with Arabia and with the peripheral states of Aden, Muscat, and Oman plus a strong plea for British-American rapport in dealing with problems in the area.

Éléments de bibliographie sud-sémitique. Y. Moubarac. *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Vol. 23, pp. 121-176. Lists 600 items, some with annotations, and 80 dealing with contemporary Arabia.

III. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AL-FĀRĀBĪ'S INTRODUCTORY RISĀLAH ON LOGIC. D. M. Dunlop. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. October 1956-January, 1957. pp. 224-235. Text, translation and comment on a small work written to head the author's treatise on the "Organon."

AL-JARSĪFĪ ON THE ḤISBA. G. M. Wickens. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. October, 1956-January, 1957. pp. 176-187. Translation and comment on a work appearing in Lévy-Provençal's Trois traités hispaniques de Ḥisba which was published in 1955.

THE BRITISH ISLES ACCORDING TO MEDIEVAL ARABIC AUTHORS. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. April-July, 1957. pp. 11-28. Lists and quotes 25 sources bearing on the British Isles — including Al-Kindī, Al-Idrīsī, Ibn Khaldūn and others.

DES CHÂTIMENTS PRÉVUS PAR LA LOI MUSULMANE ET DE LEUR APPLICATION EN MAURITANIE. A. Leriche. *Bulletin de l'Institut Française de l'Afrique Noire, Dakar.* July-October, 1957. pp. 446-464. Discusses four sorts of punishments — Qiçâç, diya, ḥadd, and taᶜzīr.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF NĀSIR-I-KHUSRAU'S SAFARNĀMA. G. M. Wickens. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. April-July, 1957. pp. 66-77. In a table, the author compares dates set forth by C. Schafer, M. Ghanīzādah and E. B. Berthals with his own corrections and comments.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE IN ISLAMIC LAW. Ibrahim Abdel Hamid. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. October, 1956-January, 1957. pp. 165-175; April-July, 1957. pp. 3-10: 57-65: 215-223.

LE MAJLIS DE MANSUR-E-ḤALLĀJ, DE SHAMS-E-TABREZI ET DU MOLLA DE ROUM. A. R. Ferhadi. *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Vol. 23, pp. 69-91. The translation of a Shi'ite drama in Persian from a Vatican MS.

PHILOSOPHY OF MUSLIM EDUCATION. Dr. A. L. Tibāwī. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. April-July, 1957. pp. 78-89. Emphasises that the "belief that God's final message to mankind was revealed in its entirety through Muḥammad and is enshrined in the Qurᵓān" is the fundamental fact governing the philosophy of Muslim education.

UN TEXTE PERSAN SUR LE "LÉGENDE DE GAYŌMART". Gilbert Lazard. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1956, part 2. pp. 201-216. A study of four manuscripts to be found in the British Museum.

IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

AL-ZUHRĪ: A STUDY ON THE BEGINNING OF HISTORICAL WRITING IN ISLAM. A. A. Duri. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. 1957. pp. 1-12. The scholar contributed markedly to knowledge of Muḥammad's life and to the history of early Islam.

BAGHDAD AND CONSTANTINOPLE. Steven Runciman. *Sumer,* Baghdad. 1956. pp. 43-50. The rivalry between the great Muslim and the great Byzantine cities stimulated the development of each.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KAMPFES DER TÜRKEI UM IHRE UNABHÄNGIGKEIT. Gotthard Jaeschke. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 1-64. A thoroughly documented study of Turkey's struggle for independence, 1918-1922. Extensive bibliography.

Crusades and current crises in the Near East. Charles Issawi. *International Affairs,* London. July, 1957. pp. 269-279. The article presents an historical parallel between the small Crusader states and Israel; the disunity of the Arabs at the time of the Crusades and now; the Mongol menace then and the Russian one now.

Islam and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. Charles F. Beckingham. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 65-84. Because of English rule, the preponderance of Greeks in the population, and the importance of the "Millet" system, there have been no religions reactions such as are found in Turkey proper.

L'Islam dans le nouvel État indien de Poudoutyêri. Ismail Hakki Okday. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 99-104. An analysis, with tables of statistics, of the former French establishments in India — the best known of which was Pondicherry.

Les musulmans hongrois du Moyen Age. Charles D'Eszlary. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. Vol. 19, part 4. pp. 375-386. Although numerically the Muslims were a small group, they were quite influential as bankers, landlords and tradesmen in the Middle Danube valley.

Une république Soviétique musulmanne. A. Bennigson and H. Carrère d'Encausse. *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Vol. 23, pp. 7-56. Surveys conditions in Dāghestan where seventy-five percent of the million-plus population is Muslim.

Thoughts on Islamic unity. W. Montgomery Watt. *The Islamic Quarterly,* London. October, 1956-January. 1957. pp. 188-195. The author believes that "at the moment there is a need for Muslims to study sociology and then study their own religion from a sociological standpoint. In this way Muslims will share in the new sociological (and scientific) understanding of religion".

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Adult education in the Sudan. W. E. Styler. *African Affairs,* London. October, 1957. pp. 289-294. Surveys conditions from 1954 to 1957, when the Sudan Workers' Education Association came into being with the active approval of the University of Khartoum, UNESCO, and various representatives from educational organizations.

The agrotown. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1957, part 1. pp. 49-53. Describes the agricultural settlement introduced in Kazakhstan replacing the former farm communities.

By car from Shiraz to Khuzistan. P. W. Avery. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1957. pp. 187-192. A sketch of the country and the people.

Development of labor legislation in Turkey. Fuat M. Andic. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. November, 1957. pp. 366-372. Traces the labour movement through the guilds of the Middle Ages and the "Tanzimat" reform up to the present day when conditions, though improved, are not satisfactory.

Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der anatolischen hochzeitssitten. Franz Taeschner. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 105-110. Marriage customs noted during a trip made in 1955.

EGYPT, 1952-1957. A. M. Hassan. *Civilisations,* Paris. 1957, part 3. pp. 419-443. Since the abdication of the king, Egypt has made notable advances in agrarian and agricultural reform, industrialisation, finance, foreign trade expansion, etc. Bibliography and statistics.

FAUT-IL ARABISER L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES SCIENCES? M. Lelong. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. Vol. 19, part 4. pp. 415-422. Gives the views of several professors who, while favouring the principle, urge caution in its use.

INDEPENDENCE IN THE CENTRAL HIGH ATLAS. Ernest Gallner. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Summer, 1957. pp. 237-252. An account of conditions among the Berber tribes.

PAKISTAN RE-VISITED. Sir Olaf Caroe. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1957. pp. 175-186. A discussion of conditions in North West Pakistan by a former Governor of the North West Frontier Province, who toured Pakistan at the invitation of the present Government and who found many changes and improvements.

LA POSITION JURIDIQUE DES ÉTRANGERS DANS LES ÉTATS RÉCEMMENT PARVENUS À L'AUTONOMIE. *Civilisations,* Paris. 1957, part 3. pp. 325-377. Articles on the legal position of foreigners in Libya, the Sudan and Lebanon by Annibale Chillemi, Saad el Din Fawzi and A. Farhat.

QUELQUES ASPECTS DE L'ACTION SOCIALE EN JORDANIE. Juliette Haddad. *Civilisations,* Paris. 1957, part 2. pp. 199-212. Examines conditions in Kerak in southern Jordan where forty-four nomadic families have been settled and have adjusted well.

SOME ASPECTS OF BEDOUIN SEDENTARIZATION IN 19TH CENTURY EGYPT. Gabriel Baer. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 84-98. The article deals mainly with information gathered from ʿAli Pasha Mubārak's twenty volume Encyclopaedia of Egypt, 1887-1889, but supplemented by material from later sources.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE AFRO-ASIAN BLOC IN THE U.N. Will Maslon. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. November, 1957. pp. 372-377. Considers the influence and voting strength of this group of twenty-eight states, which are usually supported by Russia and her eight Eastern European satellites and really possess veto power in the General Assembly.

LA 'DESTALINISATION' DANS L'ISLAM SOVIÉTIQUE. H. Carrère d'Encausse. *L'Afrique et l'Asie.* Paris. 1957, part 1. pp. 30-42. The author believes that the execution of Baghirov in Baku (1956) and the rehabilitation of cultural nationalism in the Caucasus indicate wide spread destalinization.

LA DISPARITION DE LA ZONE INTERNATIONALE DE TANGER. José Maria Cordero Torres. *Civilisations,* Paris. 1957, part 2. pp. 213-217. Discusses the proposals of M. Balafroj, Moroccan minister of Foreign Affairs, and the protocol of March 7, 1956.

THE EASTERN RIVERS DISPUTE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. F. H. *The World Today,* London. December, 1957. pp. 536-544. It is believed that capital from the World Bank might perhaps solve the

problem by helping to increase water supply and irrigation facilities for both countries.

EGYPTIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PAN-ARABISM. Anwar G. Chejne. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Summer, 1957. pp. 253-268. Discusses ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's vigorous pronouncements on Pan-Arabism.

FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN ALGERIA. *Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1957. pp. 203-210. Traces the movement from 1840 to date stressing particularly the development of agriculture and land holding due to French methods.

NATIONALISM: ANTIDOTE TO COMMUNISM. Habib Bourguiba. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1957. pp. 646-653. The Tunisian leader explains his country's international policies.

LE PROBLÈME DE L'INDEPENDANCE DU CULTE MUSULMAN EN ALGÉRIE. Jacques Carret. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1957, part 1. pp. 43-58. Explains the French-Muslim impasse from 1830 to the present.

REFLÉXIONS SUR LA RÉFORME COMMUNALE EN ALGÉRIE. Fabius Cunctator and Michel Jausserand. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1957, part 2. pp. 44-62. Considers the effect of the Decree of June 28, 1956.

REPORT ON THE INDIA-PAKISTAN QUESTION. Gunnar Jarring. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1957. pp. 231-234. Report of the Swedish representative of the U.N. Security Council on his visit to India and Pakistan during March and April, 1957. Deals mainly with the Kashmir question.

VII. THE MIDDLE EAST

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Glubb. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1957. pp. 216-223. A well sustained argument for thorough training in "International psychology" as the fourth arm of the Services-suggesting that psychological "cover" is as great a necessity as, for instance, air "cover".

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE BALANCE OF POWER. *Current History,* New York. November, 1957. Whole issue. The issue is accompanied by maps and documents and deals with various problems of the area.

THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE SUEZ. B.S.-E. *The World Today,* London. December, 1957. pp. 510-517. The Middle East situation during 1957 shows that almost all the advantages have been gained by Russia—"the anti-Western bias of Arab nationalism, the sense of responsibility which is bound to mark our dealing with their enemy Israel impel the Arabs to turn toward the Russians."

RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Col. Geoffrey Wheeler. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1957. pp. 193-202. Russia's position now is stronger and more capable of actual use to her than at any time since, in Czarist days, she first longed and strove for the "Warm Waters" of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

STRATEGY OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Hanson W. Baldwin. *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1957. pp. 655-665. The basic problem and danger is Soviet infiltration which the United States must learn to counter.